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FIRST REPORT

OF THE

NEW ENGLAND CATHOLIC
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ORGANIZED, JUNE 13, 1900

BOSTON :
PRESS OF THOMAS A. WHALEN & CO.
234-236 CONGRESS STREET
1901

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Gift
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FIRST REPORT
OF THE
New England Catholic Historical Society.

ORGANIZED, JUNE 13, 1900.

The lack of concerted action as regards Catholic historical work in New England has long been noticed. Local chronicles, parish sketches and diocesan histories have from time to time come before the public, but their character has not been such as to give entire satisfaction, as they did not exhibit the depth of research that such work calls for. The philosophy of history has not been given due consideration, nor can this be done until practically all the data that lie hidden shall have been brought to light. To reach final results in so broad a field, the delvers must be many, their inquiries thorough, and their conclusions verified, correlated and compiled methodically. A necessary means to such an end is the impulse of organization, which, moreover, serves as a splendid guide to individual effort.

This thought has been the inspiration of those who have brought into corporate being the New England Catholic Historical Society, and who have thereby determined to retrieve, if possible, past negligence, to foster honest research, and to provide the future with accurate material for real history. It is not the purpose of this society to content itself with parochial or diocesan chronicling, though this is an integral part of its scheme. Its aim is deeper and broader. It is to strive towards the perfecting of a complete presentation of Catholic events, and to show more clearly the influence of the Church in the New England States.

The importance of this scheme and its wide scope will be reflected, for example, in researches into the results of the Acadian colony in Maine and the bearing of the pre-Revolutionary Irish immigration on the life of the New England communities. The bringing of the first faint light of the Gospel to the rugged Maine coast, long before the landing of the Pilgrims, may not appear to throw into clearer perspective the genesis of the present Catholic establishment, but its influence though remote is real.

All such influences (and there are many yet screened from public view) will, when brought together for studious comparison or contrast, confer upon the future historian invaluable aid in the building up of a well ordered and scientific history of Catholicity in New England.

Material for this purpose is to be sought in town, county, and state archives, in old letters and reports, in public and private libraries, and in wisely sifted traditions. All this entails the labor of many minds, the combined results of whose conscientious investigations will, it is hoped, be brought into a consistent whole through the New England Catholic Historical Society.

A preliminary meeting of clergymen, called by the Very Reverend Vicar-General of the Archdiocese of Boston to consider the formation of such a society, was held in St. Joseph's Hall, Allen St., Boston, May 30, 1900. Very Rev. Wm. Byrne, D.D., V. G., presided. After the reading of several letters expressing sympathy with the object of the call, the chairman announced, among other things, that the bishops of the province had signified their approval of the proposed organization and that most of them had, on invitation, forwarded lists of individuals, lay and clerical, to represent their respective dioceses in the society. It was voted at this meeting that the Very Reverend Chairman and the Reverend Chancellor of the Archdiocese be constituted a committee to draft a constitution and by-laws, to print the same, and to send a copy thereof to every prospective member.

A general meeting, called under the authority of the temporary organization, to form the New England Catholic Historical Society was held Wednesday, June 13, 1900, in St. Joseph's Hall, 8 Allen St., Boston. The following gentlemen were present :—

Very Rev. Wm. Byrne, D.D., V.G., Boston.
 Rev. Wm. P. McQuaid, Boston.
 Rev. Joseph H. Gallagher, Boston.
 Rev. Philip J. O'Donnell, Boston.
 Rev. W. G. R. Mullan, S.J., Boston.
 Rev. J. W. McMahon, D.D., Boston.
 Rev. James N. Supple, Boston.
 Rev. M. J. Doody, Boston.
 Hon. Joseph D. Fallon, Boston.
 P. F. Smith, M. D., Boston.
 Francis P. Silva, M.D., Boston.
 Wm. T. Cashman, Esq., Boston.
 Francis J. Campbell, Esq., Boston.
 Mr. Bernard Corr, Boston.

Mr. Samuel J. Kitson, Boston.
 Rev. Arthur J. Teeling, P.R., Lynn, Mass.
 Rev. James O'Doherty, P.R., Haverhill, Mass.
 Rev. Louis S. Walsh, D.C.L., Salem, Mass.
 Rev. Joshua P. Bodfish, Canton, Mass.
 Rev. Wm. F. Powers, Merrimac, Mass.
 Rev. T. J. Fitzgerald, Milford, Mass.
 Rev. John E. Finen, Tilton, N. H.
 Rev. Wm. G. Mullin, Lowell, Mass.
 Mr. Edmund Reardon, Cambridge, Mass.
 Thomas F. O'Malley, Esq., Somerville, Mass.
 Hugh F. A. Farrell, Esq., Salem, Mass.

The draft of the proposed constitution and by-laws was submitted and was, after several changes, adopted as follows :—

ARTICLE I. The name of this Society shall be the New England Catholic Historical Society.

ARTICLE II.—The objects of this Society are to promote Catholic historical research and a wider knowledge of the origins of the Catholic Church in New England; to make accessible documents and records relating to the same; to have made and preserved in each parish a careful record of ecclesiastical events; to promote especial study of distinguished churchmen and important events; to print from time to time approved monographs and lectures on the above-named topics; and to collect in one place historical materials.

ARTICLE III.—The Society shall consist of Honorary and Active members. The honorary members shall be the Bishops of the Provinces, and others who, because of distinguished services in the interests of the Church, may from time to time be elected by a two-thirds vote at any stated meeting of the Society. All applications for membership shall be referred to the Executive Board and, if approved by them, submitted to the Society. Every member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual fee of three dollars, and shall remain a member in good standing as long as he pays this annual fee on or before the first Wednesday of June, each year; but when two full years in arrears he shall be dropped from the roll of membership unless his dues are paid within one month after notice is sent him of his default. Any one eligible to membership in the Society may obtain life membership by payment of thirty dollars. Every member in good standing shall be entitled to one free copy of all the publications of the Society.

ARTICLE IV.—The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, who shall be elected at the annual meeting on the first Wednesday in June each year, but in default of such meeting shall hold office until their successors are elected. Their duties shall be the same as those of like officers in similar societies.

ARTICLE V.—There shall be an Executive Board consisting of the officers above named and the Chairmen of Standing Committees. This Board shall have power to transact all business of the Society, except the election of members, that may become urgent during the intervals between the stated annual meetings.

The President shall appoint all Standing Committees and fill vacancies as they occur. The Executive Board shall meet at such time and place as

may be determined by the President, and made known to them by the Secretary one week in advance.

ARTICLE VI. — Ten members shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Society, and three members at any meeting of the Executive Board.

ARTICLE VII. — The Standing Committees shall be: — On Archives and Historical Materials; on Historical Research; on Publication and Public Meetings; on Finance and Ways and Means, and shall consist of three members each, to be appointed annually by the incoming President. A majority of each shall constitute a quorum. The first named member of each committee shall be the Chairman thereof.

Spofford's Manual, in the absence of a rule made by the Society, shall be the guide in all proceedings. These By-laws may be amended at any stated meeting of the Society, provided, one week's notice of such intended amendment be given to the members by the Secretary.

ARTICLE VIII. — Any action disposing of the assets of the Society, or the surrender of its charter, shall be valid only when consented to in writing by four-fifths of the members.

The following gentlemen were elected officers of the Society: —

Very Rev. Wm. Byrne, D.D., V.G., Boston, President.

Mr. Bernard Corr, Boston, Vice-President.

Rev. Wm. F. Powers, Merrimac, Mass., Secretary.

Very Rev. Thomas F. Doran, D.C.L., V.G., 92 Hope street, Providence, R.I., Treasurer.

Hon. John F. Cronan, Boston, Librarian.

The Constitution and By-Laws having been adopted as By-Laws with a view to obtaining a charter, it was declared to be the sense of the meeting that an effort should be made to have a historical record of every parish in New England secured and gathered together as a part of the preparation for a suitable celebration of the centenary of the Archdiocese of Boston, A. D., 1908.

The meeting adjourned, subject to the call of the President.

Subsequent to the meeting, the following committees were, according to the Constitution, appointed by the President :—

On Archives and Historical Material — Rev. Richard Neagle, P.R., of Malden, Mass. ; Col. D. S. Lamson of Weston, Mass. ; Mr. Thomas Hamilton Murray of Woonsocket, R.I.

On Historical Research —

Rev. James H. O'Donnell of Watertown, Conn. ; Mr. William A. Leahy of Boston ; Rev. Louis S. Walsh, D.C.L., of Salem, Mass.

On Publications and Public Meetings :—

Hon. Joseph D. Fallon of Boston ; Thomas J. Gargan Esq. of Boston ; Mr. James W. Dunphy of Boston.

On Finance and Ways and Means :—

Hon. Henry F. Napphen of Boston ; Mr. Thomas B. Fitzpatrick of Boston ; Hon. John C. Linchan of Concord, N. H.

It is proposed to establish a consulting board consisting of the officers and all members of committees, and such other members as may be from time to time designated by the President or the Society.

ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF THE
NEW ENGLAND CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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| <p>Very Rev. Wm. Byrne, D.D., V.G., Boston.
 Right Rev. Monsignor Magennis, Boston.
 Rev. D. O'Callaghan, D.D., P. R., Boston.
 Very Rev. John B. Hogan, S.S., S.T.D.
 Boston.
 Rev. John W. McMahon, D.D., Boston.
 Rev. L. P. McCarthy, P.R., Boston.
 Rev. Joseph V. Tracy, D.D., Boston.
 Rev. Joseph H. Gallagher, Boston.
 Rev. Wm. P. McQuaid, Boston.
 Rev. P. J. Daly, Boston.
 Rev. John J. Frawley, C.S.S.R., Boston.
 Rev. Peter Ronan, Boston.
 Rev. R. J. Johnson, Boston.
 Rev. James N. Supple, Boston.
 Rev. Philip J. O'Donnell, Boston.
 Rev. John J. McNulty, Boston.
 Rev. M. J. Doody, Boston.
 Rev. W. G. R. Mullan, S.J., Boston.
 Hon. Joseph D. Fallon, Boston.
 Hon. John F. Fitzgerald, Boston.
 Hon. Joseph H. O'Neil, Boston.
 Hon. Henry F. Napfen, Boston.
 Hon. P. A. Collins, Boston.
 Hon. John F. Cronan, Boston.
 Hon. Thomas J. Gargan, Boston.
 Charles F. Donnelly, Esq., Boston.
 M. J. Jordan, Esq., Boston.
 Francis J. Campbell, Esq., Boston.
 Wm. T. Cashman, Esq., Boston.
 P. F. Smith, M.D., Boston.
 Thomas Dwight, M.D., Boston.
 M. F. Gavin, M.D., Boston.
 P. F. Gavin, M.D., Boston.
 John B. Moran, M.D., Boston.
 P. J. Timmins, M.D., Boston.
 Wm. J. Gallivan, M.D., Boston.
 Francis P. Silva, M.D., Boston.
 Thomas J. Giblin, D.M.D., Boston.
 Mr. Stephen O'Meara, Boston.
 Mr. Samuel Kitson, Boston.
 Mr. John P. Dore, Boston.</p> | <p>Mr. Thos. B. Fitzpatrick, Boston.
 Mr. P. F. Sullivan, Boston.
 Mr. Charles V. Dasey, Boston.
 Mr. John J. Kennedy, Boston.
 Mr. James W. Dunphy, Boston.
 Mr. Wm. A. Leahy, Boston.
 Mr. Herbert S. Carruth (Beaumont St.)
 Boston.
 Mr. Henry Canning, Boston.
 Mr. Wm. Hopkins, Boston.
 Mr. Hugh P. McNally, Boston.
 Mr. Bernard Corr, Boston.
 Mr. Joseph V. Donahoe, Boston.
 Mr. John B. Fitzpatrick, Boston.
 Mr. Peter F. Gartland, Boston.
 Mr. Samuel Tuckerman, Boston.
 Miss Katherine E. Conway, Boston.
 Mrs. Mary E. Blake, Boston.
 Mrs. Helen Nordhoff Gargan, Boston. ✓
 Rev. John Flatley, Cambridge, Mass.
 Mr. Edmund Reardon, Cambridge, Mass.
 Miss Emma F. Cary, Cambridge, Mass.
 Rev. C. T. McGrath, Somerville, Mass.
 Thomas F. O'Malley, Esq., Somerville,
 Mass.
 Rev. Thomas H. Shahan, Malden, Mass.
 Rev. Richard Neagle, P.R., Malden, Mass.
 Rev. Arthur J. Teeling, P.R., Lynn, Mass.
 Rev. J. C. Harrington, Lynn, Mass.
 Rev. Louis S. Walsh, D.C.L., Salem, Mass.
 Hugh F. A. Farrell, Esq., Salem, Mass.
 Rev. Michael Ronan, Lowell, Mass.
 Rev. W. G. Mullin, Lowell, Mass.
 Rev. James T. O'Reilly, O.S.A., Lawrence,
 Mass.
 Mrs. K. A. O'K. O'Mahoney, Lawrence,
 Mass.
 Rev. Joshua P. Bodfish, Canton, Mass.
 Col. D. S. Lamson, Weston, Mass.
 Rev. John I. Lane, Marblehead, Mass.
 Rev. James O'Doherty, P. R., Haverhill,
 Mass.</p> |
|--|--|

Rev. Wm. F. Powers, Merrimac, Mass.
 Rev. E. S. Fitzgerald, Springfield, Mass.
 Mr. E. A. Hall, Springfield, Mass.
 Right Rev. Monsignor Griffin, Worcester, Mass.
 Rev. Bernard S. Conaty, Worcester, Mass.
 George McAleer, M.D., Worcester, Mass.
 Mr. John E. Lynch, Worcester, Mass.
 Rev. C. E. Brunault, Holyoke, Mass.
 P. J. Garvey, Esq., Holyoke, Mass.
 Rev. James Boyle, Pittsfield, Mass.
 Miss Katherine T. Mullaney, Pittsfield, Mass.
 Rev. E. J. Fitzgerald, Clinton, Mass.
 Rev. Thomas J. Fitzgerald, Milford, Mass.
 Rev. Wm. F. Grace, Gilbertville, Mass.
 Rev. J. J. McCoy, P.R., Chicopee, Mass.
 Rev. John F. Redican, Leicester, Mass.
 Rev. James Coyle, Taunton, Mass.
 Hon. John W. Cummings, Fall River, Mass.
 ✓ Rev. Wm. A. Power, Blackstone, Mass.
 Rev. Charles W. Collins, Portland, Me.
 Mr. E. J. Young, Portland, Me.
 Very Rev. M. C. O'Brien, V.G., Bangor, Me.
 Mr. Wilfrid A. Hennessey, Bangor, Me.
 Mr. Peter C. Keegan, Van Buren, Me.
 Miss Kate Vannah, Gardiner, Me.
 James F. Brennan, Esq., Peterborough, N. H.
 Rev. John E. Finen, Tilton, N. H.
 Hon. John C. Linehan, Concord, N. H.
 Rev. J. H. Milette, P.R., Nashua, N. H.
 Mr. W. V. Scully, Burlington, Vt.

Very Rev. E. M. O'Callaghan, V.G., Concord, N. H.
 Miss Jennie Hoyt, Burlington, Vt.
 Rev. D. J. O'Sullivan, St. Albans, Vt.
 Hon. F. W. McGettrick, St. Albans, Vt.
 Rev. W. N. Lonergan, White River Junction, Vt.
 Mr. Frank H. O'Neil, White River Junction, Vt.
 Rev. Jerome M. Gelot, Underhill Centre, Vt.
 Daniel A. Guiltinan, Esq., Bennington, Vt.
 Mr. T. H. Kett, Fairhaven, Vt.
 Col. James Lillis, Rutland, Vt.
 Rev. W. J. O'Sullivan, Montpelier, Vt.
 Very Rev. T. F. Doran, D.C.L., V.G., Providence, R. I.
 Rev. Thos. F. Kelly, Providence, R. I.
 Rev. Austin Dowling, Providence, R. I.
 Charles E. Gorman, Esq., Providence, R. I.
 Alphonse Gaulin, Esq., Woonsocket, R. I.
 Mr. Thomas Hamilton Murray, Woonsocket, R. I.
 Mr. Richard Bliss, Newport, R. I.
 Rev. Walter J. Shanley, Hartford, Conn.
 Rev. Thos. S. Duggan, Hartford, Conn.
 Hon. Thomas McManus, Hartford, Conn.
 Miss Ella Fanning, Norwich, Conn.
 Rev. Charles J. McElroy, Derby, Conn.
 Rev. James H. O'Donnell, Watertown, Conn.
 Rev. Thos. J. Shahan, S.T.D., Washington, D.C.

The present document has been issued with a view to make known to the members the doings and plans of the Society. Thus far, the efforts of the projectors have been directed towards the perfecting of a sound organization. Arrangements have been made for the preparation of at least one historical paper for the next regular meeting. It is hoped that the members (to every one of whom a copy of this document will be sent) will, though widely scattered, take an active interest in the work of the Society, and send the annual fee to the Treasurer in advance of the next annual meeting which is hereby called for June 5, 4 P. M., at No. 8 Allen Street, Boston.

Formal notice of all meetings and of all proposed measures relating to the organization will be given to every member.

WM. F. POWERS, *Secretary*.

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THE EARLY IRISH CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

OF LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS

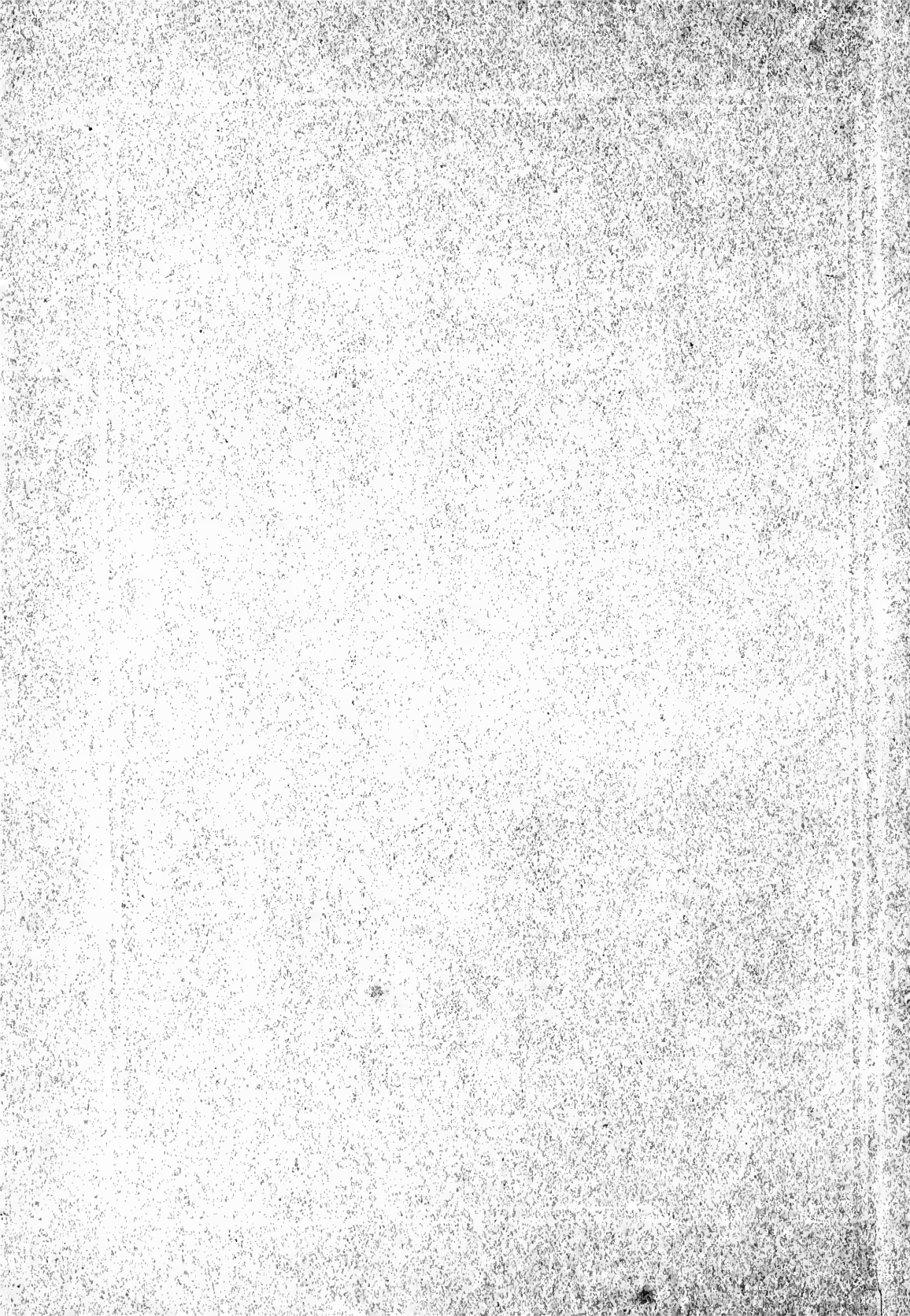
1835-1852

BY

REV. LOUIS S. WALSH, S. T. L.

Member of New England Catholic Historical Society

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS:
PRESS OF THOMAS A. WHALEN & CO.
234 and 236 Congress Street
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Gift
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THIS paper was prepared from the original manuscript or printed documents of the School Board of Lowell, the Reports of the State Board of Education, from official messages of the Governor of the State and from the records of the Academy in Lowell.

It was read at the High Mass in St. Patrick's Church, Lowell, on Sunday, April 21, 1901, and, with some additions, at the Catholic Union Hall, Boston, under the auspices of the New England Catholic Historical Society, on Friday Evening, May 31, 1901.

It was also read, in part, at a meeting of the above Historical Society, in Boston, on Wednesday, June 5, 1901. At this meeting an interesting fact was stated by one of the members, Charles E. Gorman, Esq., of Providence, namely, that his own grandmother Mrs. Mary J. Woodbury, a convert to the church, was the first primary teacher in the Irish Catholic Schools of Lowell, and that his own mother, then Miss Sarah J. Woodbury, was also a teacher in later years, and that the latter was living at the present time and had confirmed what was published by Fr. Walsh.

The Early Irish Catholic Schools.

OF LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS.

THIS title in an essay of the old "New Englander Review," April, 1848, sets one a-thinking, and puzzling questions arise from the following note in the United States Catholic Directory, 1845-1849: "There are common schools for both male and female children in most of the cities and towns of this diocese (Boston), having Catholic teachers. In Lowell they are supported at the public expense; but in all other places at the expense of the parents of the children, aided by collections in the churches." What? Is it possible? In the State of Massachusetts? Catholic schools supported at the public expense? Yes, possible, true, a fact. Listen now and the story will be told.

Religion, the Orthodox faith, that is, the Congregational church doctrine was not only honored, it was supreme in old Colonial Massachusetts, and right down to 1830 the union of church and state was strong in theory, though always waning in practice.

A brief review of the early Massachusetts idea of religion and education will naturally lead us up to our story.

There was not in the strict constitutional sense of the phrase "union of church and state" in Massachusetts, but there was the unwavering conviction that religion was the foundation of society, hence that its furtherance was a private function of the body politic, "its support by taxation a necessity." The statute left it open for each town to decide what ecclesiastical order it would adopt and support, so strong was the principal of home rule and town government.

The people were all of one church, the Congregational, for a long time, and no one could vote, much less hold office, unless he were a church member.

These people, so anxious for their civil and religious liberty, did not wish persons of any other denominations to come or to stay, but fear of losing their charter privileges held them in check; Episcopalians and Quakers, later Baptists made their way in, and when these

dissenters were numerous enough the law was changed, so as to allow each separate congregation to claim its share of the ecclesiastical tax for the support of a clergyman of its own persuasion. This conviction, "so strongly was it intrenched in popular tradition," was made an article in the Bill of Rights, forming part of the new Constitution of Massachusetts in 1780, namely, suitable provision to be made "for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality." Indeed John Adams at the Constitutional Congress in Philadelphia, declared "that a change in the solar system might be expected as soon as a change in the ecclesiastical system of Massachusetts." He was not a good prophet, for the stars still roll on in their courses, while the secular spirit has destroyed the Massachusetts system.

The Congregational church and doctrine were built up and maintained by such legislation, and despite the fact that the Federal Constitution distinctly opposed all such religious tests and props, in Massachusetts up to April 9, 1821, "no person was eligible to the office of governor, lieutenant-governor, or councillor, or to that of senator or representative of the general court, unless he would make oath to a belief in the particular form of religion, adopted or sanctioned by the state." Again until November 11, 1833, "every citizen was taxable by the constitution and laws of the state for the support of the Protestant religion, whether he were a Catholic or Protestant or a believer in any other faith."

What has been said of religion, may be equally said of education, for the two were inseparable, in fact the prime motive of education, primary, grammar and college, was to build up religious, and particularly Congregational men. Education was necessary to know "the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country" hence was compulsory by statute law. Religious training was even more desirable, the very end and motive of education, hence honored, and given the most important place.

The division of money for public worship and for schools was possible, was practical, was working smoothly in harmony with civil rights and religious liberty.

When the public school movement began to make headway, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was understood that the religious instruction was not to be interfered with, and the ministers of the various denominations, while wishing to enter into the new way,

declared that they would give up the whole plan and return to denominational schools, rather than yield on the fundamental point. After having, for two hundred years, built up and maintained the "glorious old Commonwealth" by denominational religious schools, and having prided themselves thereon, these people all at once saw a new kind of light flash out from some hitherto unknown source, and the pious rulers then decided that, after all, religious training was not so necessary and could very well be dispensed with. The star of secularism, with its pale reflected light from French Atheism and Naturalism, appeared on the horizon. Unitarian idealism, to be personified in Horace Mann, was just peeping out of the clouds, and these two flickering rationalistic rays were guiding Massachusetts away from her old traditional course. The logic of events, however, was the most potent factor of all, and as the "Irish" and so-called "papists" were coming in every ship, they too would rightfully claim and logically demand their own religious training, hence better far to give it up entirely, than to grant it to them. (See Martin : Evolution of the Mass. School System, p. 229-231.)

Now Lowell was one of the chief centres for the Irish people, and already from 1822 to 1831, they settled in good numbers on the "Acre" as the district of the present St. Patrick's parish was popularly known. Lowell was a mission of Salem from 1827 to 1831, Father Mahoney being the pastor, and it is certain that previous to 1829 he opened a school "in a two-story building, next above Dr. Blanchard's meeting-house on Merrimack Street," and placed an Irish schoolmaster in charge. Possibly this school, perhaps an earlier effort, is referred to, in the following : "By the advice and efforts of philanthropic persons, a room was soon (after 1822) rented and supplied with fuel and other necessities, and a teacher placed there, who was remunerated by a small weekly tax, I think six cents a week for each child (the common tariff in those days). From the poverty, however, and indifference of these parents (just as in the case of the first Puritans), the school was always languishing and became extinct. From time to time it revived, and then after months of feebleness again failed."

At the annual town meeting in May, 1830, an article was inserted in the warrant for the appointment of a committee to "consider the expediency of establishing a separate school for the benefit of the Irish population." The committee reported in April, 1831, in favor of such a school. The report was accepted, and on the old district plan, the sum of fifty dollars (\$50) was appropriated for the maintenance of a

separate district school for the Irish. Here was probably the first municipal regulation on such matters and the origin of the separation of the two races. The experiment failed, as "did all endeavors to connect these children with the Yankee Schools," says the chronicler. "It had many vicissitudes," "with an average number of children about thirty," "kept only a part of the year," "was often suspended, because a suitable room could not be had." On the whole, the situation was just as unsatisfactory in 1834 as in 1830.

The question of dividing the school fund on a fair basis was evidently discussed, and the following letter from Rt. Rev. Bishop Fenwick to an Irish Catholic gentleman in Lowell speaks in tones not to be misunderstood. Mr. Philip F. Scanlan, honorable and honored name, had moved from Dover, N. H., to Lowell because there was a Catholic school here and none there, and in answer to a letter on the question, written by him to the Rt. Rev. Bishop, received the reply :

BOSTON, March 26, 1831.

DEAR SIR :

I received a few days ago your kind communication. I see no impropriety in the Catholic school in your town receiving aid from the school fund, especially if the Catholics of Lowell have contributed their portion by the payment of taxes or otherwise, toward the support of said fund. Common justice would entitle them to something out of it, for the payment of their Master. But I really do not understand how, in this liberal country, it can be made a condition to their receiving anything, that they, the Catholics, shall be in that case debarred from having a Catholic teacher, learning out of Catholic books and being taught the Catechism of the Catholic church. We can never accept such terms. I have no partiality for Mr. — further than I think him a conscientious, good, moral man. As to his qualifications as a teacher I have not much to say. I am aware they are not very great, but are they not sufficient as yet for those little children he has the care of? However, if the good Catholics of Lowell have an objection to him, I shall not wish to retain him. But it is all important that the individual, whom they may select to replace him, be one qualified to instruct children in the principles of their religion, for I would not give a straw for that species of education, which is not accompanied with and based upon religion. I remain,

Your obedient servant,

B. BP. BN.

Clearer words to put forth the Catholic position have never been penned.

Father Mahoney was made pastor of Lowell a few months later, in July, 1831, and soon had an assistant, Father Conelly. Two parochial schools had been established before 1835, one under St. Patrick's church, and one at a place called Chapel Hill. In 1835 Rev. Mr. Conelly made a formal application to the school committee for aid, and was present at several meetings with the following official results: School Report, March, 1836: "It is known to the citizens generally, that various fruitless attempts have been hitherto made to extend the benefits of our public schools more fully to our Irish population. Those attempts have been hitherto frustrated, chiefly perhaps by a natural apprehension on the part of the parents and pastors of placing their children under Protestant teachers, and in a measure also, by the mutual prejudices and consequent disagreements among the Protestant and Catholic children themselves. Your committee have great pleasure in stating that these difficulties appear to have been overcome, and the above most desirable object to have been finally accomplished.

In June last, Rev. Mr. Conelly of the Catholic church applied to the committee for such aid as they might be able to give to his exertions for the education and improvement of the children under his charge. The committee entered readily and fully into his views, and in subsequent interviews a plan was matured and has since been put into operation. On the part of the committee, the following conditions were insisted upon as indispensable before any appropriation of the public money could be made:

1. That the instructors must be examined as to their qualifications by the committee, and receive their appointments from them.
2. That the books, exercises and studies should all be prescribed and regulated by the committee, and that no other whatever should be taught or allowed.
3. That these schools should be placed, as respects the examination, inspection and general supervision of the committee, on precisely the same footing with the other schools of the town.

On the part of Mr. Conelly it was urged that to facilitate his efforts, and to render the scheme acceptable to his parishioners, the instructors must be of the Catholic faith, and that the books prescribed should contain no statements of facts not admitted by that faith, nor any remarks reflecting injuriously upon their system of belief. These conditions were assented to by the committee; the books in use in our other public schools were submitted to his inspection, and were by him fully approved.

On these principles the committee proceeded, June 14, 1835, "to assume supervision of the private school already existing under the Catholic church," and elected Patrick Collins its teacher, one of the public instructors. They next chose Miss Stevens, teacher of a primary school, to be established in the same place. This lady, "not being to be procured," Mary J. Woodbury was chosen. On September 14, 1835, another Catholic school, in the vicinity of Chapel Hill, taught by Daniel McIlroy, under the auspices of Rev. Mr. Conelly, was adopted as a town school, and the salary fixed the same as in other schools.

The number of pupils becoming very large, an assistant was necessary, and in June, 1836, Richard Walsh was chosen at one hundred and twenty-five dollars (\$125) per annum. The school of Mr. Collins was for the older and advanced pupils, and he has been paid at the rate of four hundred and fifty dollars (\$450) per annum, which is the average compensation of teachers in the writing and grammar schools, including principals and assistants.

In the summer of 1837 another room was prepared under the Catholic church, a new Catholic school, being the fourth, was opened, and Mary Ann Stanton elected its teacher. In June, 1838, Mr. Collins' and Mr. McIlroy's schools were united, denominated "Fifth Grammar School," and moved to Liberty hall, since which time the distinction between grammar and primary schools has obtained in Irish and other schools.

Such was the Lowell system of separate Irish Catholic schools, with Catholic teachers, books approved by the Rev. Pastor, school-rooms in the Catholic church, or rented elsewhere, teachers and all current expenses paid by the town. It will be noticed that nothing is said about "religious instruction," and probably that was allowed, perhaps was given by the priest. Devotional exercises, after 1837, were not only allowed, but openly encouraged, could be most harmoniously adjusted to the wants and tastes and convictions of all parents and children. Bishop Fenwick certainly would not otherwise accept the plan.

Did the system work? How was it developed? When and how did it cease? The authentic records will answer all these natural questions. "These schools have been in operation more than half a year, and your committee have the satisfaction of believing them to have been eminently successful, and that they are doing much good to this hitherto neglected portion of the community. Children brought under the influence of these schools during the year, numbered four

hundred and sixty-nine; the average number attached to the school has been two hundred and eighty-two, of which the average daily attendance has been two hundred and eight, showing a punctuality and regularity of attendance fully equal to the other schools. The committee think the advantages of this arrangement must have been obvious to every observer. In the improved condition of our streets, in their freedom from noisy, truant and quarrelsome boys, and it is confidently hoped they will soon be equally obvious in the improved condition and respectability of these children, in their redemption from intellectual and moral degradation (familiar Yankee terms for poverty, untidiness and lack of schooling). The committee was generous in appropriating money, and would earnestly recommend these schools to the continual fostering care of their fellow citizens. Nor can they refrain from expressing their obligations in the prosecution of this object, to the benevolent and persevering efforts of Rev. Mr. Conelly, to whose zealous and efficient co-operation their success may be mainly attributed."

A similar report was made in 1838. "A general interest is manifested in the prosperous condition of our Irish schools. They now consist of three grammar and two primary schools, kept by four male and two female teachers. The whole number of different pupils reported as having attended these schools more or less during the year, is seven hundred and fifty-two. Most of these pupils attended three months at least. The average number connected with these schools at once, is four hundred and thirty-five; average daily attendance three hundred and forty-two; increase this year, one hundred and twenty-two in average number, and eighty-three in daily attendance."

The same satisfactory report was made year after year. In 1842 the city even prided itself upon the great success. "From inquiries," the Report says, "informally made respecting the bearing of the common school system upon the Irish population in other cities and large towns, the committee have derived new evidence of the wisdom of the plan adopted in this city and which is believed to be peculiar to ourselves. No other place, it is supposed, can exhibit the same proportion of this class of children in the common schools. Their general attendance at school can scarcely be too highly appreciated even as a matter of policy and protection from juvenile delinquency. As these children are admitted to the High school, and to all other schools, when their parents desire it, on the same terms with other children, the system is

chargeable, on our part, with no prejudice or exclusiveness. Nowhere has greater proficiency been witnessed than in these schools. Nor can any countervailing evils be apprehended from the concessions, by which these benefits are secured, as long as the course of study and instruction is prescribed by the committee and is the same as in other schools.

Grammar school, No. 5, and primaries 11 (basement of Catholic church), 15, 19, 21 are of this description. All the grammar school houses, but the building occupied by the Irish grammar No. 5, are owned by the city. A new house for the more perfect accommodation of that interesting school, in a more eligible situation, is much wanted. The Irish primaries 11, 15, 19, 21, 22, on Lowell, Fenwick and Winter streets, are all well conducted and better patronized than heretofore. They are quite too full; and it is very desirable that other rooms for one or two schools in or near the new Catholic church (St. Peter's) should be immediately furnished by the city."

For eight years harmony prevailed, and good results were recognized on all sides. The agreement had been carefully and faithfully carried out. The teachers, in addition to above mentioned, were the following: William Flynn, Peter McDermott, James Egan, Sarah J. Woodbury, Catherine A. Hogan, Arvilla Woodward, Esther C. Howland, Jane V. Dennahey, Louisa M. Adams, Catherine Callaghan, Anna Freil, E. D. Sanborn and J. W. Walsh.

In June, 1844, there were one grammar and five primary schools, having Irish Catholic children exclusively, an average of about six hundred and thirty-eight with average daily attendance of four hundred and forty-three. At no time did the committee feel better satisfied with the attendance and proficiency in studies and deportment. There had been, however, rumors of trouble for some months, and a storm was evidently about to break.

The Catholic parents presented in June a petition, numerously signed, calling for the removal of seven teachers (right of petition and respectful hearing) and the principal of grammar school No. 5, Mr. Flynn, resigned at the end of the month.

The summer vacation followed, about two weeks, and on July 15, at the reopening of school, only one hundred and thirty-two pupils appeared, to the surprise and regret of the committee. "The Irish schools were suddenly annihilated for nearly three weeks."

An investigation followed and the committee felt called upon to

review the whole policy touching the special agreement for Irish Catholic schools. A sub-committee was appointed "to report the history of the practice and the arrangements which have been entered into in relation to this matter by the Town and former committee."

After several secret hearings, full debate on the causes of the recent trouble and the report of the sub-committee, it was judged best not to provoke any useless quarrels by the publication of the charges, to accept the resignation of Mr. Flynn, to elect a new principal and to continue in force the agreement.

This episode, to superficial minds perhaps discreditable and to be cited as a fact and argument against the system, ought and would prove to more thoughtful people and practical educators that Catholics were not blind to faults of a serious kind in the teachers of their own race and religion, but had the good of the schools always at heart, and would use every just and reasonable means to maintain a fair standard. Hence, on October 9, 1844, schools were again in good order. The name, however, of the new principal, Mr. Shattuck, already suggests what was to become eventually of the original contract, and forebodes danger of final disruption. In 1845 the committee reported of school No. 5: "Notwithstanding a year of many adverse influences and discouragements, this was a quiet and pleasing school."

In 1847, the primary schools 15, 22 and 32, which had been for several years under the Catholic church at Fenwick Street, were removed to a new schoolhouse on Adams Street. An effort, too, had been made to bring the pupils from the Irish schools into the High school, and many scholars were reported each year as well qualified, but the best pupils always "left school early to go to work in the mills," and in 1848, out of seven presented from grammar school No. 5, not one consented to go.

The State Board of Education had made great progress in visiting the schools of the state, about this time, and already in 1850 the old No. 5 in Lowell was called the "Mann School" after the first secretary of the Board, Horace Mann, "the great American educational agitator."

When his successor, Secretary Sears, visited this school in 1850, he wrote: "I have seen no school of the kind to equal it in all my visits to schools," and similar remarks were made after inspecting the primaries, thereby showing that Lowell had established a unique and successful system. The appointment of Catholic teachers had for one reason or other lapsed, for, 1848, in nine schoolrooms there were only

four Catholic teachers, and not any principals, hence a fundamental point had been suppressed or weakened, just at a time when new conditions were to test the fibre and strength of the whole civic organization.

The great waves of Irish immigration were rising fast and high in 1848 and 1849, and Lowell was one of the first places to feel the onward movement.

In the year 1851 the state authorities felt and openly showed anxiety, even to intense alarm at the invasion of foreigners. The purpose of this is not to be discussed now, perhaps had better remain in misty historical background, but a regular crusade was started to compel attendance of all children at school, quite in contrast to the sleepy indifference that characterized so many of the towns and cities previous to that year. The "non-attendance of foreign children at school is assuming a fearful importance," says the State Board's report of 1851, and the Lowell committee in citing this "cry of alarm" adds, "constituting, as they do, nearly two-fifths of our school children in Lowell, an inquiry is pertinent." "A generous and enlightened," a "wise and liberal policy was adopted in Lowell." "Of the few schools attended only by the Irish some are deserving of the highest praise in point of order, vivacity and proficiency in study. The quickness, intelligence and spirit of the Celtic race are easily excited by a teacher of an earnest, commanding and enlightened nature."

"At this time the 'Mann' and 'Franklin' schools (significant names) were the Irish schools of Lowell, and the Public High School was for a time in the old brick Catholic church on Suffolk Street, now the St. Patrick's boy's school, so cordial and intimate were the relations between the two peoples. Honeyed words, so nice and sweet, and awfully significant in view of the sequel, disclosing another mind and heart. In 1852 the Sisters of Notre Dame were introduced to teach a free school for girls in St. Patrick's parish by the Rev. John O'Brien, thus beginning, or better, reopening that great and grand movement that places Lowell to-day with its four thousand five hundred Catholic children in its seven schools, among the very first cities of the land in Catholic education.

At first this event did not stir more than the surface, so serene, of the committee, and the only question was, whether, in view of the opening of a Catholic parochial school, the distinctive feature of the Irish schools should not be changed.

This school, like the earlier parochial school, might have been

taken under the supervision of the city authorities, the standards of state and city demanded, legitimate, reasonable inspection required, and thus, while giving all the education in mental and civic developments that could justly be imposed by state or city, would have added, as it did add to this day, the higher religious virtue and Christian character ; thus, too, exciting a wholesome competition with the merely secular or neutral schools. No good reason was alleged to disprove such a plan, it was simply a development, a perfecting of the happy compromise already reached, and would have thus stood forth, if the "Demon of bigotry" could only have been chained for a few years, and results awaited.

The teachers were ladies of good, gentle, refined manners and education ; sunshine and dew of heaven for growing minds, hearts and souls ; coming to devote their lives to the education of others and asking only the means of a bare subsistence as compensation. The garb they wore was simple, perhaps a little singular to some untrained eyes, but, rightly understood, only intended to symbolize the purity, Christian penance, devotion and self-sacrifice of a whole life in talent, time and energy to the instruction of the young and the care of the poor.

Alas ! no, it was not to be, and the Lowell system failed in one respect after sixteen years of trial, simply lapsed in another sense by the development of the parochial schools, and awaits perhaps our time to be again tested under more favorable circumstances and bright hopes. The principle was correct in the main, though not applied with sufficient breadth of vision to a complete development of the physical and spiritual fibre of the growing child. It was based upon respect for natural differences and conscientious needs, and, as peculiar to Lowell, exemplified that sturdy old axiom of home rule, so much idolized in theory in early New England, and often lost sight of in practice since, when something else seems to promise more power, or caters to selfish greed, or checks the inevitable slipping away of long continued sway. Lowell, and, in so far, Massachusetts, lost the golden opportunity of showing and perfecting a "just, wise and liberal policy" in the most important matter of education, and, if the truth must be said, allowed a stain to fall and remain on the reputation of the old Puritan Commonwealth. Liberty, equality, respect and consistency might, at least in Lowell, have swayed the committee, but in the next year, 1853, the "old Devil ran around in all his fury," and Lowell did not escape the

wide-spread disease, "inflammatory and contagious," with which the public American spirit seem to be inoculated.

When one reads in the present light of facts and of the history of the past forty or fifty years, the lurid prophecies of danger and disaster, that were belched forth from pulpit and rostrum, governor's seat and judge's august tribunal—at the increasing waves of "illiterate foreigners" and "superstitious papists," "how the ship of state was to be tossed and wrenched unto destruction;" "how the Catholic schools (otherwise called sectarian) were to be a danger to unity, liberty, knowledge, patriotism; how darkness and ignorance greater than ever were to follow;" "how the great bulwark of our liberty and independence was to be undermined; how the sacred inheritance of civil and religious liberty (which never existed in early Colonial Massachusetts) was to be stolen from the pious heirs;" "how our only hope lay in constitutional amendments, restricting for all time the influence and voting powers of the new comers from forefather's lands; how the great, model Republic was doomed;" when we read all this in the official documents, in the press and in the pulpits of the time, we are inclined, not indeed to anger, hatred or revenge, that would be unphilosophical, un-American, and non-Catholic, but rather to smile, even to have a hearty laugh, at the hysterical fear of the wise-acres, whose ears were truly to the ground, in the wake of diabolical echoes, instead of faces, minds and hearts uplifted to catch the new light and hope and strength from heaven's clear revelation. "Eyes they had and saw not, ears they had and heard not, minds they had and understood not the ways of the Almighty."

This was the beginning of that shameful and shameless historical epoch, known as the Know-Nothing Movement. It is not with any desire to reopen an unpleasant wound, nor to stir up strife, nor to claim revenge, nor in any way to cause trouble that we allude to this, but simply as an historic episode, or disease, or illusion, or injustice, or whatever else we may please to call it, and lest we forget or rather the children forget that the historic facts and monuments of those evil years are to New England Catholics and in future centuries will be what the Catacombs of Rome and lists of heroes are for the early church, and the many souvenirs of English persecution in Ireland are to Erin's sons and daughters all over the world.

I need not tell you, older Catholics of this great city, how the hostile feeling inflamed the public mind of this city; how the band of

fanatics came to destroy the convent and drive out the Sisters ; how they threatened to burn the church ; how the mayor and his committee came to " smell around " the convent and school in search for secret cells and dungeons ; how the Sisters were in dread night after night ; how the Irish girls and women and men gathered regularly their heaps of stones as ammunition against the enemy ; how the brave Father O'Brien and Father McNulty withstood the mob ; how governor, judge, mayor, militia and all seemed banded together in one diabolical tie and one hellish purpose ; how the spirit was put into rules of voting, laws against bearing firearms, constitutional amendments against Catholics ; how one name, your own General Butler, stands out in clear striking opposition to these wrongs ; how finally all this was in vain and passed away like a cloud, not to return, yet a warning to teach modern men and women not to repeat a page of history that must ever be a stain and shame upon Massachusetts.

The unity of the glorious Republic was indeed, shortly after the outbreak, to be threatened seriously, but by its own colonial children's sons and daughters in the sunny South in defence of their own real or supposed rights, and the " aliens " and foreigners marched from Massachusetts to defend the dear young flag, the country's life, and moistened the fields of Virginia and Maryland with their Irish and Catholic blood. The Republic's glorious humanitarian doctrines were to be put forth (by many true Americans and statesmen, wrongfully, it is thought) to bring on a foreign unnecessary war with an old, friendly, Catholic and noble people, and the " sons of the foreign immigrants of the 40's and 50's marched in solid columns to the cannon's mouth at Santiago, and manned the guns on the famous warships in Manila bay." Patriotic, loyal, patient and heroic in war, in peace these despised new-comers and their children have been the very back-bone of the great manufacturing centres of Massachusetts, and by the sweat of their brow and the strong muscular power of their arms have coined the gold that has built up these great cities of Boston, Lowell, Lawrence, Worcester and many similar places. Patriots in war, artisans, wealth-producers and industrious citizens in peace, they have been also home-builders, who have listened to the voice of God : " Increase and multiply and fill the earth ; " " What God has joined together, let no man (judge, court or state) put asunder ; " " Treasure up for yourselves treasures in heaven." They have learned in the church called superstitious and in the humble Irish and later French Catholic schools, the

very virtues that have made Massachusetts today almost as populous as the whole thirteen colonies at the close of the War of Independence.

Shades of Gardiner, Washburn, Lord and the smaller imitators of 1855, where now are your prophetic curses and threats and fears? No, none of these things have happened and none can happen. The State has prospered and is secure, the liberties are maintained, the houses are intact and civilization has left you all, misty and musty prophets behind. Let Massachusetts then open her eyes to the light, let her redeem herself, and do justice to Catholic schools.

The early schools were called "Irish" for the very plain reason that there were no other Catholics. Now there are French and German and Italian and Polish Catholics, who will all be willingly Americans, proud of their adopted country, hopeful, courageous, patriotic, even optimistic as regards the proud destiny which God has in store for this great nation, but ought not and will not sacrifice their God, their faith, their church, which are one and inseparable.

To sum up, therefore, 65 years ago Catholic schools were supported in the city of Lowell at the public expense. The plan was successful, so long as the conditions were respected. It failed only when the School Board suppressed, in practice, one of the most important conditions, namely, that teachers must be of the Catholic faith, and lapsed entirely when the passions of the multitude in this Commonwealth forced the hand of the Governor and Legislature, most willing servants, to put an unjust, yes, iniquitous, amendment upon the statutes of this State. The same plan was hoped for in other cities, was proposed even in Boston at one time, but for one or other reason was not acceptable, or, at least, was not accepted.

Fifty years have passed by; is it not time to reopen the question, and settle it on a basis in harmony with our present conditions? We have now three Bishops, 850 Priests, more than 1,000,000 people, over one-third of the whole population of Massachusetts. There are 62,000 children in our parochial schools. We thus save to the State or cities an investment of nearly \$10,000,000 in school property, and annual expenses amounting to nearly \$2,000,000.

Upon every parent rests the solemn, Divine duty of giving a Catholic education to his children; to every child is given the Divine right of receiving such an education. Citizens make up the State power and government and the institutions of the State ought to be in harmony with the duties of parents and the rights of children. We

have the school buildings in a large number of places ; about 80 school houses in our own Archdiocese of Boston. We have the religious teachers, beautifully trained to do their work. We have the young lady and young gentlemen school teachers, splendidly equipped for any system that may be devised.

If with this united power we cannot get a hearing, a respectful hearing, a fair opening on principles of justice, equity, wisdom, liberality, harmony, unity and generosity, and thus secure a change even in the much-lauded public school system of Massachusetts, then the idea and thought, and talk and boasting of popular government and popular rights are all an illusion and a dream. The time seems ripe from another point of view. Only two weeks ago the Moderator of the Presbyterian National Assembly in Philadelphia uttered these words :

“I do not wish to say an ill word against the public school system but have we, so morbidly afraid of uniting the Church with the State, gone so far as to disunite God from the State? This is a most serious question. The faith of our sons and daughters is involved, and the kingdom of God in our country is involved. It is not an organized scepticism that threatens, but a God-forgotten secularism.”

Only one week ago in the Unitarian Sunday School Society's anniversary meeting, one of the ministers said : “The child has a right to a religious education. Most people, nevertheless, neglect the children, so far as religion is concerned. Now, our children do not receive a religious education in the home. The reason is mostly timidity on the part of parents. A good many people plead that they have no time, but that is not only a confession of weakness, it is a confession of sin.”

The same sentiment and reprimand has been expressed by President Eliot in a Unitarian gathering. It really does look as if the tide has begun to rise again by the combined attraction of the Sun of Justice, our Divine Lord, and the Moon, which is the Church, reflecting the light of God and enlightening the earth.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop McQuaid of Rochester said in Boston, in February, 1876, before the Free Religious Association : “Massachusetts or Boston will solve the complex school question, and do justice finally to parent, child, city, State and church.”

His clarion voice has never ceased ringing out the duties of parents and rights of children in Catholic education, and only two weeks ago he sounded the same high, clear, strong, unmistakable note at Buffalo, when he called upon Catholic men to assert their rights and defend them,

and uttered these remarkable words: "It would be a happy day for America if women had the right of suffrage. When a question of conscience or the care of children is involved women will defy the politician, and will vote as Christian men might vote if they had the courage."

In the Lowell system he would have said that the question was almost solved. Let Lowell, or better still, Boston, have the honor of renewing or perfecting the compromise. Is it not time to seek a reasonable compromise? Is it not right to give to religion and to God the place that belongs to them in the growing minds and hearts of children that are to be our future men and women?

Let the question be faced even as a business proposition, the building of a subway for instance. How quickly experiments will be made, how easily obstacles overcome, dangerous places strengthened, graceful curves made around difficulties that cannot be removed, and final success assured. The Lowell plan shows what a wise and liberal policy can be followed, when the interests of all are considered with unprejudiced minds.

Let the wise and statesmanlike gentlemen who now honors the Governor's chair in Massachusetts appoint a body of men learned and judicious, and free from partisan bias, to consider the whole question, and Massachusetts will soon find a solution to serve as a model for other States. Future generations will then praise our great city or Commonwealth for its intelligence and justice, and a grateful people, loving God and loving their State, will be faithful to Church and State, and hand down that loyalty from generation unto generation, until time shall be no more. So may it be.

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The Acadians of Madawaska.

If one examines on the map the vast and irregular outlines of the State of Maine, he will discern that its northeasterly boundary is formed in part by the river St. John flowing in a wide sweep from the mouth of the St. Francis river to a point three miles west of Grand Falls. In its progress along this curve, the river winds its way for the most part between high, wooded hills which give way where streams enter to alluvial plains, and, thrown back by the massive rock gorge at Grand Falls, it has spread out and formed in the course of time extensive intervals enriched by the periodical overflow.

This long, narrow valley is fringed on both sides of the St. John with a line of farms which extend almost continuously throughout the 90 miles of its length, and though the line gathers in some two or three places into the semblance of a town, it is ordinarily a thin, double line of habitation hemmed in behind by vast forests. On the Canadian side a lazy railroad creeps up the river for 70 miles or so, but on the American side there is no railroad above Van Buren, the least remote town of the valley, and this inroad is of very recent date. Not a bridge crosses the St. John throughout the long sweep of the river, and excepting in the towns mentioned the stores can almost be counted on the fingers. It is a country of rugged and picturesque scenery, small houses and huge barns, and little modern comfort, given over almost entirely to agriculture.

The region takes its name, Madawaska, from a small river which falls into the St. John 30 miles above Grand Falls, and has been occupied since 1785 by Acadians refugees from the expulsion of 1755, and their descendants. Though Canadian immigration and intermarriage have played a most important part in the history of this ter-

ritory, and numbers of people of English speech may be found there, especially in the towns, the character is definitely Acadian, and the people have preserved with little change through the vicissitudes of time and trouble the antique tongue, quaint customs and peasant virtues of Acadia and old France.

The story of the Madawaska Acadians runs back through two centuries, for, though their occupancy of the upper St. John valley dates but from the last quarter of the 18th century, no narrative can do justice to them which fails to take into account the unpropitious beginnings of Port Royal, the unique isolation of Acadia from the polite world for more than a century, and the pitiless political whirlwind which swept them from their native shores in 1755, naked and bewildered exiles. These circumstances, enmeshed with a vigilant hostility which attended the pioneers of Madawaska during their sojourn in New Brunswick and a peculiar boundary dispute between the United States and Canada, choked educational and social development and left them until 1843 in political chaos. The present day statistics of Madawaska must be interpreted in the light of these facts; and so interpreted, do honor to it. The entire, little-known history of the Acadians posterior to the events of 1755 is a startling and pathetic verity, view it how you will, and evinces qualities of endurance, perseverance and faith in these illiterate peasants, inherent only in remarkable peoples, and almost lifts them to a place among the stories of the nations.

Bourinot, p. 233.
"Story of Can-
ada."

ACADIA.

Patton, U. S., p.
243.

Bancroft, U. S.,
II., p. 425.

Thevaite's Col.,
p. 35.

Greswell, Can.,
p. 109.

Roberts, p. 51.

**Razilly and
Charnisay.**

Acadia was the first French colony in North America. Poutrincourt's gentlemen adventurers established themselves at Port Royal 16 years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. Though the members of this colony dispersed and the venture failed, the germ of colonization survived. The permanent colony was founded by Razilly and Charnisay, who, between 1632-8, brought over sixty people from La Rochelle. Saintonge and

Poitou. From these, most modern Acadians derive their lineage and their names. Razilly's colonists saw in the marshes of the country the counterpart of their native low-lying region of La Rochelle, and began that system of dykes which made the land famed for its fertility and left the interior of the peninsula a forest primeval. Immigration from France dropped off and finally ceased entirely. Acadia was practically left to its own devices, and the isolated colony having become self-supporting, absorbed the remnants of Alexander's abortive enterprise, spread along the coast of the peninsula and the shores of the Bay of Fundy and became a peculiar and typical people. During the time that France and England struggled for the possession of North America, the Acadians rested in their retreats, taking as little part as possible in the conflicts. Living wholly along the coasts, they were much exposed to attack and could hardly afford to invite hostility, even if so inclined; but they were in fact a peaceful people. For all that, hardship and war worked havoc on the little settlements, and Grandfontaine's census in 1671 gives hardly more than 400 inhabitants for all Acadia. These 400, however, constituted the survival of the fittest, a solid and permanent group of people, well suited to become the parent stock of the future generations. In origin the Acadians differed from the Canadians, and this difference was further increased by the infrequent relations between the two peoples. Canada was New France; Acadia a new land altogether. The original Acadians were a medley of fishermen, soldiers and adventurers of every sort, and it is not the least interesting thing about them that from this group was evolved a strong, simple and eminently moral people. Their strength and enterprise may be gathered from the fact that they soon became self-supporting, while Canada ever leant on the mother country. The census of 1679 shows but 515 persons, but these were a nation. The census of 1686 shows 885, excluding servants and soldiers at Port Royal. The total was about 1000. Between 1704-7 three expeditions from Boston were fitted out to take

Hannay in C. H. R., p. 115.

Hannay History Acadia, p. 16.

Roberts, p. 46.

Parkman, H. C. C., 116-118-122.

Anglo-French Wars.

Census, 1671.

Rameau, France aux Colonies, I., p. 23-30-124.

Roberts, p. 95.

Rameau, France aux Colonies, I., p. 30-128.

Hannay, C.H.R. p. 116.

Rameau, *id.*, I., p. 30.

Rameau, *id.*, I., p. 31-129.

Rameau, *id.*, I., p. 33.

English Conquest.

Roberts, p. 109.
Parkman, H. C.
C., 109-149.

Port Royal, but all failed, though the attacking parties were very numerous and the Acadians counting every soul had but 1484 people. In 1710 the English came again with 3400 men, and the garrison of 156 effective defenders capitulated after some days' fighting. Then came the Treaty of Utrecht, definitely ceding Acadia to England. In the preceding attacks, Port Royal was the objective point, the outlying settlements escaping invasion.

Before going on to relate the circumstances between the cession of Acadia to England in 1713 and the deportation in 1755, it will perhaps be in order to state the increase of population in that time.

Population.

It will be seen that the population of the entire region amounted to less than 1500 at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht. In 1737 the official census gives 7598 in Mines, Beaubassin and Port Loyal; the sparse settlements across the Bay, not counted. This means that they had quadrupled in 30 years without immigration. The census of an English traveller, who visited Acadia in 1748 or 1749, estimates them at 12,500, but the emigration begun so marked soon after this, on account of the prolonged English occupancy, that in 1754, notwithstanding the large birth rate, there were but 9215 in the peninsula.

Rameau, *id.*, I.,
p. 36.

Rameau, *id.*, I.,
p. 41.

Haunay, C.H.R.
p. 118.

Parkman, M. &
W., I., p. 245.

Bourinot, p. 306.

Parkman, H. C.
C., p. 145-177.

Acadia was captured by Nicholson in 1710 and, by the treaty of Utrecht, three years later, ceded to England. The obscure wording of this treaty in the matter of the boundary between the peninsula and the rest of the country caused much trouble during the ensuing years. Article XIV of the Treaty defines the situation of the Acadians:

Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

"It is expressly provided that in all the said places and colonies to be yielded and restored by the Most Christian King in pursuance of this treaty, the subjects of the said King may have liberty to remove themselves within a year to any other place, as they shall think fit, with all their movable effects. But those who are willing to remain here, and to be subjects to the kingdom of Great Britain, are to enjoy the free exercise of their

religion according to the usage of the Church of Rome as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same." Rich, I., p. 74.

In return for some kindness shown by the King of France for his Protestant subjects, Queen Anne wrote the following letter to Nicholson, still further lightening the burden of the Acadians:

"Whereas our good brother, the Most Christian King, hath, at our desire, released from imprisonment on board his galleys such of his subjects as were detained there on account of their professing the Protestant religion, we, being willing to show by some mark of our favor towards his subjects how kind we take his compliance therein, have therefore thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you permit such of them as have any lands or tenements in the places under our Government of Acadia and Newfoundland, that have been or are to be yielded to us by virtue of the late treaty of peace and are willing to continue our subjects, to retain and enjoy their said lands and tenements without any molestation, as fully and freely as other our subjects do or may possess their lands or estates, or to sell the same, if they shall rather choose to remove elsewhere. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant.

**Queen Anne
Letter.**

"By Her Majesty's command,

"Dartmouth." Rich., *id.*, p. 47.

This situation as defined by the treaty and letter was clear. The Acadians were to have the option of staying or going. If they chose to stay, they were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion. The time limit for decision was a year. The Acadians did not depart during this year, and the reason is curious. About July, 1713, they sent delegates to ascertain what terms they could obtain if they emigrated to French territory. The terms were unsatisfactory, for the land at Cape Breton offered was poor; however, they stated their determination to go in any case if forced to take an oath of allegiance. Land at Prince Edward's Island was then offered them, and they prepared to go, but the lieutenant-

Terms of Treaty.

Rameau, C. F.,
H., p. 7.
Parkman, M. &
W., I., p. 95.
Bourinot, p. 232.
Richard I., p. 81.
Parkman, H. C.,
C., p. 186-7.

- Vetch.** governor, Vetch, would not permit this, as he said, until the return of Nicholson. The bearers of the Queen's message arrived in Acadia about the same time with Nicholson, who promised to let the Acadians go within another year, but put off the actual moving until, as he said, he could refer it to the Queen. The Queen died in August, 1714. Representations were made to the Lords of Trade, pointing out that the departure of the French would ruin the country. During this time the Acadians were awaiting the decision. In the Spring of 1715 many, in this expectation, did not sow their lands. In the interim the Acadians were refused permission to leave in English ships, French ships were not allowed to enter the harbors, and when the people built vessels of their own and wished to send to Louisberg for rigging for them, this was refused by the Governor. They were also refused permission to obtain it in Boston. Different letters of Vetch to the Lords of Trade state that unless orders were sent to prevent the departure of the Acadians, Nova Scotia would be stript and Cape Breton become a populous and well-stocked colony. There was another reason; the garrison was wholly dependent on the French for provisions, and if they went away the handful of soldiers would soon be massacred by the Indians.
- Caulfield, 1715.** Gov. Caulfield took office in 1715 and sent out agents to administer the oath. The Acadians refused the oath, stating that they were awaiting the decision promised by Nicholson. Caulfield was replaced in 1717 by Doucette, who severely enjoined the people to take the oath. The Acadians, despairing of the Nicholson decision, sent a common statement that they wished protection from the Indians in event of taking the oath, and this oath was to be that they would not take up arms against the King of France, England or their allies. This is the first appearance of the famous contention of neutrality. Doucette tried to exact the unconditional oath, but in vain. He appealed to the priests, but they declined to interfere. Doucette had written to the Governor of Louisberg complaining that the Acadians had not gone, and
- Nicholson.**
Rich. I. p. 86.
- Parkman, H. C.**
C., p. 188.
R., p. 87.
- Doucette, 1717.**
Rich. I., p. 100.
- R.**, p. 105.
- R.**, p. 105, 111.
Roberts, p. 124.

received a sharp one in return in which it was stated that Nicholson and his successors had made it impossible for the Acadians to depart with their goods by refusing them vessels or permission to get rigging for their own craft. In 1720, Gov. Phillips came to Annapolis to take charge. He ordered the Acadians to take the oath without reserve or leave the province within four months, without transporting their effects. They accepted the terms, asking only an extension of time to gather the harvest. They wrote to the Governor of Louisberg asking help. He wrote to Phillips asking to have the obstacles in the way of the French departure removed. The Acadians set to work to make the road from Mines and Annapolis, since this was the only way of leaving the province from these places. Phillips became alarmed and ordered the road making stopped. He also told them not to leave their homes clandestinely or without leave. He blamed his failure to settle the affair on the clergy, whom he called "bigoted priests." On Dec. 20, 1720, the Lords of Trade wrote to Phillips that the Acadians ought to be removed as soon as the promised forces should arrive, but in the meantime to be prudent and allow them freedom of religion, which, as they said, would probably be accorded them if they chose to stay where they were. This is the first intimation of a plan of deportation. A private letter written at this time by Craggs, Secretary of State to Phillips, is rather interesting at this point. This Craggs was afterwards disgraced and died on his way to the Tower, and of course his private letter does not show any design of the Government; but it is a strange thing that so many years before the expulsion, a man high in the government should outline the entire scheme as it was actually carried out, and should suggest such measures of dissimulation in the meantime as only too evidently appear in the documents of the time. Craggs tells the Governor "not to bother about justice or other baubles any more than Nicholson or Vetch did; these things will not advance our interests." "Their departure (the Acadians) will doubtless increase the power

Phillips, 1720.

R., p. 113.
Parkman, H. C.
C., p. 199.

R., p. 119.

R. I., p. 123.

R., p. 124.

of France: this must not be; they must eventually be transferred to some place where mingling with our subjects they will soon forget their language, their religion and remembrance of the past, and become true Englishmen. For the moment, we are too weak to undertake this deportation—encourage them with any hopes you choose—provided you obtain the desired end, which is to prevent their departure.” The course of Phillips during the next few years would indicate that he took these suggestions to heart. He continued things in the statu quo for two years, and returned to Europe, leaving Doucette to act as lieutenant-governor. He so acted until 1725. During this time the matter of the oath was allowed to rest, and since the Indians of Maine were in open rebellion, and those of Nova Scotia likely to join them, nothing was done to irritate the Acadians who were their friends. They were left to themselves. After Doucette in 1725 came Armstrong, a moody, ungovernable man, who seems to have had trouble with everyone, even his own household. He began to act as if the country were in a state of war. The Acadians who had had some experience with him previously in a subordinate capacity dreaded his coming. In fact, some went away that year to Prince Edward’s Island. All prepared for a general migration, and Armstrong fearing this, and taking a moment which he judged favorable, proposed the oath. The Acadians asked for the insertion of a clause about not bearing arms against the King of France; and Armstrong states in his letter to the Lords of Trade that he inserted this in the margin of the French version. The English version was the official document. He states that he did this to get them over by degrees. He told them that there was no danger of their having to bear arms, for this was a privilege allowed only to his Majesty’s Protestant subjects. All that the Acadians had to do was to be obedient subjects.

Armstrong,
1725.

R. I., p. 137.
Parkman, H. C.
C., p. 200.

R. I., p. 138.

In this fashion, the oath was given to one fourth of the people. Most of Armstrong’s envoys to other places came back unsuccessful. He sent one in particular, Rob-

ert Wroth, to Mines and Beaubassin. Wroth inserted the clause about bearing arms in the French version of the oath, omitting it in the official English one. The Governor decided that the oath was not valid as far as the Government was concerned, but that, nevertheless, the Acadians were bound by this oath. Armstrong was much chagrined at his failure to get the unreserved oath; strange to say, he blames Boston merchants for his failure. The Lords of Trade did not take kindly to Armstrong's manoeuvring, and sent Phillips back to Acadia. Shortly after his arrival, Phillips wrote back that the oath had been taken by all the people in Annapolis, and that the rest would soon follow. He succeeded in this by giving an oral promise to the French that they would not be called upon to bear arms against the French. This fact, which has sometimes been questioned, is stated later on by Gov. Lawrence, and is conclusively shown by various documents cited in Richard's "Acadia." The Acadians without written proof of their stand tried to safeguard themselves by writing to the French Governor, explaining the affair. Phillips retired to England in 1731, and the oath question fell into desuetude until the foundation of Halifax in 1749. The Acadians went back to their fields and dwelt in peace. These twenty years were the most prosperous in their whole history. Armstrong returned in 1731, but English authority was exerted only in the vicinity of the fort at Annapolis. The people governed themselves. The only cause of dissatisfaction was the land, which had been sub-divided as families increased, until it was fearfully crowded and there were endless differences about boundaries. The Government would give no new concessions.

Armstrong killed himself in 1739, and was succeeded by Mascarene. This governor was severe in insisting on non-intervention on the part of the clergy in matters political, but soon had things smoothed out and all satisfied. The land question was bound to come up on account of the discomfort of the people. One of the causes why the Acadians could not occupy the lands outside

R. I., p. 140.

Phillips.

Winslow, *Journal in N. S. A.* VIII., p. 112.

Parkman, H. C. *U.*, p. 201.

R. I., 147.
R. I., p. 151, req.
Also N. S. Archives.

R. I., p. 152.

Mascarene,
1739.

their original farms, was that these had been granted to proprietors in England. Just while this matter was most critical, war broke out between England and France. During this war, Acadia was four times invaded by the French, and Port Royal was for some time held by them; every means from flattery to threats was employed to gain over the Acadians; they were ordered to deliver up their arms or be given over to the mercies of the Indians, but would not do it. Finally the French retired. At this time the fortifications of Annapolis were repaired, the Acadians very willingly doing nearly all the work. Mascarene states that they were most ready. He states that throughout this war they kept him informed of the French movements. July 2, 1744, he wrote that the Acadians had no ways joined the enemy—had helped repair the works the day before the attack. In December, 1744, he wrote: "To the succor received from the Governor of Massachusetts and our French inhabitants refusing to take up arms against us, we owe our preservation." In 1747, he wrote: "Though the enemy brought near 2000 men in arms in the midst of them, and used all means of cajoling them and threatening them to take up arms, having brought spare ones to that end, they could not prevail upon above 20 to join them." Murdock states: "Although there were always a portion of the inhabitants of Beaubassin (on the isthmus) positively disaffected to English rule, in the other settlements there were very few persons who were even suspected of willingly aiding the invasion, and Duvivier received as little support from the Acadians after crossing the Avon as Prince Charles Stuart in the next year after crossing the Tweed."

The number 20 enumerated in Mascarene's letter tallies with the French reports; twelve of these were arrested on denunciations made by the Acadians; this not for taking up arms, but advising and assisting the French invaders or neglecting to inform the English. This in a four years' war with four invasions. Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, was no friend to the Acadians.

Rich. I., p. 203.

Hannay in Rich.
I., p. 205.

R. I., p. 207.

R. I., p. 208.

R. I., p. 208.

History of N. S.

R. I., p. 211.

Gov. Shirley's
Plan.

He devised a plan to plant Protestant colonists among them, taking away the marsh lands and giving bribes to perverts. This plan reached the ears of the Acadians as a scheme for their expulsion, alarming them greatly, and they consulted Mascarene. Aug. 15, 1746, Shirley came forward with another plan of removing the "Romish priests" and introducing Protestant English schools and French Protestant ministers. This was after the Acadians had remained proof against French wiles during the war, and had aided in building Annapolis fort. Nov. 21, Shirley informed the Duke of Newcastle that the Acadians were alarmed, saying that Admiral Knowles thinks "that it will be necessary to drive all the Acadians out of Acadia." After going over the situation, he stated that driving out the Acadians was not in his opinion the plan, since it would strengthen the enemy. This seemed to be the only deterrent. It had been the same with Craggs. He concludes the letter submitting whether it was better to drive them out to strengthen the French, or retain them and treat them as subjects.

Newcastle replied May 30, 1747, advising the quieting of the Acadian apprehensions of expulsion, saying that it was the King's desire to continue them in their fidelity and the free exercise of their religion. Before receiving this reply, Shirley wrote advising the placing of English colonists at Beaubassin and transplanting the Acadians to New England, distributing them among the four governments there. After receiving the reply, he wrote stating that he had suspended the King's plan to give freedom of religion, but made such declaration as would quiet the minds of the Acadians. Mascarene did not relish Shirley's interference. He knew its effect on the Acadians. February, 1747, the French attacked Grand Pré. The Acadians had warned the English garrison, but were unheeded. The French occupied Grand Pré and sent out proclamations stating that the Acadians were now French subjects. This did not help the French, for the Acadians went to Mascarene with the proclamations and told him all about it. The French

Parkman, Montcalm & Wolfe
I., p. 243.
Bourinot, p. 228
235.
R. I., p. 218.

Parkman, M. &
W. I., p. 95.
Murdock, H. N.
S. II., p. 129-
131.
R., p. 220.
R. I., p. 223.

R. I., p. 227.

French Invasion,
1747.

then made proclamation that the Acadians were released from their oath to the English, and that it had been so decided by the Canadian authorities and the Bishop of Quebec.

R. I., p. 229.

This proclamation was also without effect, as Shirley's letter of June 8 to Newcastle shows. Peace was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle October, 1748. Things went back to the statu quo. The foundation of Halifax was decided upon March, 1749, and realized June 27 following, with Edward Cornwallis as governor. A few days later the Acadians sent delegates with their respects to the Governor, who gave out a proclamation enjoining an unconditional oath, telling the delegates to publish

**Cornwallis,
Halifax, 1749.**

Bourinot, p. 232.

it and return. This they did July 29. They asked for the insertion of the clause about not taking up arms against the French, and were refused, as also permission to leave the country with their goods. Some weeks later the deputies came with a letter signed by one thousand persons, asking that the Phillips' oath might be renewed, and recounting their fidelity in the last war. Cornwallis

Hannay in C. H. R., p. 145.

replied that the Phillips' oath had no such reservation as they claimed, and told them they must obey. He told them they could leave without their effects. Memorials and deputations succeeded one another, all amounting to nothing. French intrigue began again, and La Corne was sent to occupy Beaubassin. During the Fall of 1749 the English were too busy at Halifax to attend to anything else. March, 1750, Cornwallis wrote to Bedford that he proposed deferring the oath until the end of the Beaubassin affair, and after that to exact a peremptory answer. He was told not to exact the oath, but to treat the Acadians kindly and to wean their minds from the design of leaving the country. Cornwallis then told the Acadians to sow seed and await the government reply. They obeyed, but not wishing to sow the land for the benefit of strangers if they could help it, went to the Governor seeking some assurance. They received none. He refused them passports and insisted on keeping things as they were. The eight years from 1748 to

R. I., p. 249.

**Anglo-French
Hostilities
(1748-56).**

Bourinot, p. 229.

1756 were in America a series of hostilities yearly growing more violent. During all this time the attempts of the French to gain over the Acadians were incessant. Cornwallis's proclamation of an unconditional oath became a pretext for secret hostilities and finally open war. The French used the savages to strike the English during a time of peace. Le Loutre began to make trouble at Beausejour, setting the Indians to burn the Acadian houses at Beaubassin and so force the inhabitants to take refuge on the French side of the line. For this thing Le Loutre was severely reprov'd by the Bishop of Quebec. During the latter half of the year 1749 continued hostilities went on on the isthmus near the disputed frontier.

Rich. I., p. 299.
Roberts, p. 125.

In November, 1752, a treaty of peace was arranged between Cornwallis and the Mic-Macs. This peace was very short. It was broken by the English themselves. Cornwallis wished to begin a war of extermination against the Indians, but was prevented by the Lords of Trade. Another treaty of peace was negotiated, but quickly broken. During this time (from 1750-52) the Acadians were tranquilly awaiting the reply promised by Cornwallis. Hopson succeeded Cornwallis in 1752. On Dec. 10, 1753, Hopson wrote to the Lords of Trade that application of the oath was difficult, if not impossible, and advised delay. He states that the Acadians are so useful that it is impossible to replace them. He sent letters to the different commanders, advising kind measures and putting the Acadians on the same footing as other English subjects.

Hopson, 1752.

R. I., p. 321.

July 23, 1753, he wrote to the Lords of Trade that the Acadians were ready for unconditional submission, and only refrained from fear of the French and Indians, who had it in their power to make existence intolerable. The Acadians, who had crossed to French territory in 1748, asked to return under the old conditions, which was granted, except for the oath which the Governor could not change. Hopson's administration ended with this year. He was succeeded by Lawrence, first for a time,

Lawrence. and later as the Governor. Dec. 5, 1753, Lawrence wrote that the Acadians were quiet in political matters, but were disagreeing among themselves. They feared that the oath would be forced on them. The land famine was becoming intolerable. This letter perplexed the Lords of Trade, who warned Lawrence against any action likely to start the Acadians migrating. On the other hand, he was told to try and work them into taking the oath of allegiance.

R. I., p. 350.

On Aug. 1, 1754, Lawrence wrote to the Lords of Trade, alleging disturbance, assistance to the French, and blaming the priests for it. He concludes the letter:

"As they possess the best and largest tracts of land in this Province, it cannot be settled with any effect while they remain in this situation, and I would be very far from attempting such a step without Your Lordships' approbation, yet I cannot help being of the opinion that it would be much better, if they refuse the oath, that they were away."

R. I., p. 355.

**Lawrence's
Charges.**

In this letter Lawrence made accusations about the Acadians. One of them is the intercourse with the French and selling provisions to them. The extent of this was much exaggerated: it was by no means a common practice of the people, who themselves made many attempts to have it stopped, and it had gone on under preceding governors without being interpreted as against fidelity.

The Acadians in 1744 did police duty to stop this traffic. It amounted to nothing more or less than smuggling. He also stated that the Acadians had not been near the English markets for a long time, but he omitted stating that it was some time since the disposition of the last crop, that the time for gathering the next crop had not come, and naturally they had no reason for going to the markets. There is no existing case of the Acadians trading with the French, mentioned in the annals of this time, but there is more than one case of the English merchants themselves being engaged in this traffic. There was one other charge against the Acadians: that was

Rich. I., p. 358.

against the 300 who had gone to Beausejour, presumably to repair dykes. This work had to be done by many at a certain time, and done quickly. They asked Lawrence's permission to go and were refused. They went. Probably some went for good, but the greater number must have gone with the idea of returning, since they left their families behind. In any case the accusation is not one of importance. The Lords of Trade, in answer to Lawrence's letter, ordered delay and investigation of the dyke matter. The men who went away were condemned to forfeit their lands if they refused to take the unconditional oath. On Aug. 4, after his first letter had been sent, he dispatched word to the commanders not to bargain with the Acadians for anything, but to take what they wanted, and exercise military severity against any delinquents to the orders.

Rich. I., p. 364.

Rich. I., p. 367.

The Acadians obeyed. The orders were carried out immediately, except at Pigiguit, where they were delayed. This delay was much remarked by the commander, Murray.

Rich. I., p. 369.

On May 27, 1755, Lawrence learned that three Frenchmen were among the Acadians seeking to gain them over, and he made proclamation that any who listened to them would be treated with military severity.

R. I., p. 372.

On the strength of a certain letter supposed to have been intercepted and indicating a French descent, Lawrence communicated with Shirley, who lent 2000 New England troops for an expedition to dislodge the French. On June 2, 1755, thirty-three vessels under Monckton, Winslow and Scott arrived at Fort Lawrence. At this time France and England were ostensibly at peace. Beausejour was invested and June 16 was captured. Three hundred Acadians were found there under arms. It has been said that they induced the French to declare that they had taken up arms only under pain of death. Monckton, in his letter of June 16, while stating that they were found in arms, states that they were in arms under pain of death, implies no subterfuge, and pardons them.

Parkman, M. &
W. I., p. 248,
254, 257.**Expedition of
1755.**Roberts, p. 126,
127.**Beausejour
Captured.**R. I., p. 387.
Lawrence in
Wins. Jour.,
Vol. III., p. 81.
Bourinot, p. 230,
234.
Rich. II., p. 6.

**Preparations for
Deportation.**

On June 6, 1755, 100 men had been sent by Lawrence, under pretence of a fishing frolic, to disarm the inhabitants of Mines district. This was done. The people sent a petition to the Governor, protesting their fidelity and asking to keep their arms for fear of the Indians. Lawrence considered this petition as impudent; the people sent another still more humble, and asking an interview. They came July 3, and were ordered to take the oath of allegiance. They asked to retire home to consider the matter; this was refused. They were told that no delay or exemption would be granted, and that their reply must be ready by 10 o'clock the next morning. At this the Acadians declared that they could not take the oath without consulting their people. They were told that otherwise they would be treated as French subjects and deported, and were ordered to withdraw. They were called in again and informed that they were to be treated as Popish Recusants, and were imprisoned. On June 28, 1755, Lawrence wrote to the Lords of Trade that the Acadians were delivering up their arms. He stated that they were to be driven out of the country. But it was no part of his plan to drive them across the frontier. He entered into consultation with Boscawin, and it was decided that the inhabitants must take the oath or quit the country. Soon after, according to an exhaustive plan of the settlements prepared long before by a Judge Morris, arrangements were made to plant troops in the different villages secretly. Meanwhile a rumor was circulated by the authorities that the inhabitants were to be sent to Canada, so that none would try to escape. July 18, Lawrence let the Lords of Trade know of his plan in a veiled way, insinuating a removal to France. On July 25, delegates from all Acadia met at Halifax, but the conference came to no satisfactory result. This was evident, because the matter had long ago been decided in the Governor's mind. He wished that the deportation should take place before the Lords of Trade could head it off, in a reply to his letter of June 28. He knew that if the fact were once accomplished, it would

Rich. II., p. 17,
27.

Rich. II., p. 29.

Rich. II., p. 36.
Casgrain, Pel.,
p. 94.

Rich. II., p. 45.

Rich. II., p. 57.

be difficult for them to change it and they would acquiesce. It fell out as he had foreseen.

On July 31, Lawrence wrote to Monckton arranging details of the expulsion and giving precise directions about the disposal of the Acadian cattle and flocks which were many and valuable. The different commanders on the peninsula received similar directions, and it now only remained for him to carry out his carefully matured plans. Stringent orders were given to prevent the people from escaping, and in case of opposition, the rule was "life for life from the nearest neighbor." In order to show how the business was regarded by other people, it may be well to quote a letter written by the American Commander Winslow some time before the public decision of the deportation. It shows quite well where the direct responsibility for the deportation lies, and also the animus of those who had charge of it.

Rich. II., p. 58.

Winsl. Journal,
p. 97, 107, 134,
142.

"We are now hatching the great and noble project of banishing the French Neutrals from this province; they have ever been our secret enemies, and have encouraged our Indians to cut our throats. If we can accomplish this expulsion it will have been one of the greatest deeds the English in America have ever achieved, for among other considerations the part of the country which they occupy is one of the best soils in the world, and in that event, we might place some good farmers on their homesteads."

R. II., p. 77.

Conf. Parkman,
Montcalm &
Wolfe I., p.
263.

On July 31, Lawrence announced the deportation to the Lords of Trade, stating that the Acadians "are the most inveterate enemies of our religion" and could not safely be sent to Canada; that vessels had been hired to convey them to the colonies and disperse them from Georgia to New England. From all the documents extant, it is clearly evident that this action of the Governor was taken entirely without the sanction and even against the will of the government. Every letter from the Lords of Trade had counselled moderation and delay. But Lawrence did not write his letter of July 31 until his plans were matured, and any letter from England would

R. II., p. 58.

**Lawrence and
Home
Government.**

Arch., N. S., p.
58, 64, 238.
Bourinot, p. 235.
Can. Hist., R.,
p. 238.

arrive too late to head off the expulsion. A letter from the Lords of Trade, dated Aug. 15, shows their alarm at the measures he had indicated and forbade any such action, but whether this letter came late or was received and disregarded is not certainly known. At all events, Lawrence did not reply to the Aug. 15 letter until Nov. 20, when a state of war practically existed, and in the pressure of greater matters small ones were forgotten or passed over. But his conduct in this matter and others was to be examined into just before his sudden death. As has been stated before, the Acadians were scattered over the peninsula of Nova Scotia and also along the shores of the Bay of Fundy. Many of them had in the course of time taken up residence in Prince Edward Island and different places of the mainland north of Nova Scotia. From the time Acadia came into English hands this emigration had been going on quite constantly. After 1748 it grew very large, so that a census made in that year indicates the population as 12,500, and six years after there were but 9215 in the peninsula. At this time only the peninsula was in English hands; France held the rest of Canada and the huge fortress of Louisberg near by. The isthmus uniting the peninsula to the rest of Canada was the virtual boundary and the subject of rival claims. The people of Beaubassin, Beausejour and other places on this isthmus were in a very disturbed state throughout the hostilities of those years. But the great centres of population on the peninsula itself, including the most prosperous and peaceful of the Acadian people, were little affected by these migrations and became the direct prey of the deporters. This explains the issue of the carefully laid plans of Lawrence.

Roberts, p. 126.

**Gathering the
People.**

Rich. 11., p. 109.

Casg. Pel., p.
128.

On Sept. 12, 1755, the machinery of the movement was set in motion. The people had already been disarmed; now detachments were sent to the different villages to summon them under pretext of an important announcement. What was left of the population of Beaubassin, after the French retreat following the capture of Beausejour, listened to the proclamation with suspicion, and a

good number took to the woods. At Annapolis, in the same way, the people who were always more or less on the alert, started for the forest without delay, but in the Mines district both the character of the people and the extra care of the English contributed to a complete surprise.

For convenience it will be well to distinguish three periods in the deportation: first the peninsula expulsion of 1755; second, the one which took place in 1758, after the final fall of Louisberg, and lastly, the fate of those who eluded the pursuers and took refuge inland, or emigrating from various places in the colonies whither they had been sent, wandered back to Nova Scotia. The statistics of the expulsion are far from complete or satisfactory. Practically the only exact and detailed account is contained in the journal of Winslow; the accounts for the other places have been laboriously worked out by Casgrain and Rameau. Hence the estimates of the first deportation vary largely from 6000 to 7500, though some have put the number much higher. However, since reliable data show that in 1754 there were little more than 9000 in the peninsula it is easy to come to a conclusion. Rameau and Casgrain, two very respectable authorities on the subject, state that in 1755, 6000 were exported. Bancroft would make them 7000 in number. While it is not to the purpose to paint any picture of the trouble caused to the exiles, it is pertinent to state the fact that in the nature of the case their lot was most wretched. The stroke came as a surprise; things were so arranged that they could not turn anything into money, and even if it had been permitted buyers would have been hard to find. The prosperity of these people consisted in things that could not be taken off easily, or at all, lands, houses, live stock. They were hurried on board small vessels with military haste and pitilessness, carrying what they could snatch at the time. The ships were so crowded that carrying much was out of the question. They were a people unaccustomed to leave home and entirely unprepared for such a journey. It would have been hard

**Penoids of
Deportation.**

Winslow.

**Number of 1755
Deportation.**

Winslow Jour.,
p. 82, 87, 160,
179.
Hannay, C. H.
R., p. 146.
Greswell, p. 121.
Thwaite's Col.,
p. 243.
Fiske, H. U. S.,
p. 170.
Roberts, p. 130.
Rameau, Col. F.,
p. 142 (n 7),
144 (11n).
Bourinot, p. 236.
Rich. II., p. 122.

to find a collection of individuals on whom such a fate would have fallen with more crushing effect. In order to give some idea of the prosperity of the Acadians in 1755, it will be in order to state that in the District of

Rameau, F. aux
C., I., p. 45.

Mines 4000 people were removed, 400 houses and 500 barns burnt, 2000 steers, 3000 cows, 5000 calves, 600 horses, 12,000 sheep and 800 pigs were confiscated. There had been little exchange of money among the Acadians, they had little use for it, but at this time money was the only thing that would have made their lot supportable.

Destination.

Rich. II., p. 230,
249, 253.
Rameau, F. aux
C., I., p. 57 (n),
139 (n), 140,
145 (n).
Casgrain, Pel.,
p. 163.
Rich. II., p. 240.

The number who landed at different ports of the colonies is only approximately known. With the exception of Boston, where nearly 2000 were put ashore, only a small number were left at other Northern ports. Connecticut received for its share 300; New York 200. The remainder were distributed in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Georgia and the Carolinas. These last numbered in some two or three places some 4000. The 1500 who were disembarked in South Carolina were first distributed in the settlements, but finally obtained two old ships, and after many vicissitudes and much reduced in number reached the mouth of the St. John, and finally Nova Scotia, where they were imprisoned. It is stated that many of the descendents of the Acadians remain in South Carolina at the present day. A few at first drifted to Louisiana, but were reinforced by some who had been wind-driven to San Domingo and Guinea. Others came from New England and Canada. Today their descendents in Louisiana number more than 50,000.

**Acadia after
1755
Deportation.**

Rich. II., p. 270.
Bancroft II., p.
430.
Rameau, F. C.,
p. 146 (n22).

The act of deportation by no means ceased with the year 1755. After that first expulsion there still remained on the river St. John, the Gulf shores and in Prince Edward Island 10,000 Acadians. About 1500 of these went to Quebec by the St. Lawrence between 1756 and 1758; some hundreds ascended the St. John River in 1759 and 1760 and settled in the district of Three Rivers, where their descendents form a compact settlement to-day. Disease played havoc with these travellers. Hence there remained in 1758 about 8000 in the maritime

provinces, nearly 5500 of these in Prince Edward Island. The importance of this settlement began in 1749, when Beausejour was founded. When Le Loutre burned the houses of the isthmus and drove the people across the line they went to Prince Edward Island and settled there. Then after 1755 this settlement was much increased by other fugitives. Here they remained at peace while France held that part of the country. After the capture of Louisberg Boscawin arranged the deportation of all these people on the pretext that they were fugitives from Nova Scotia. The exact number deported at this time, as in 1755, is not known. It ranges from 3000 to 4000. Some were sent to England, where half of them died from different causes; others were left in France, at St. Malo, Boulogne and other ports, some went to the Island of Jersey, where Le Loutre looked after them. A part never arrived in Europe at all because the ships on which they were embarked were rotten hulks and went down at sea.

**Boscawin's
Deportation,
1758.**

Roberts, p. 180.
Rich. II., p. 254,
268, 275, 276.
Rameau, F. C.
I., 141 (25).

At the peace of 1763, the Acadians found themselves pretty well scattered. Most of the Mines and Port Royal people had been sent to the Atlantic coast colonies, though some went as far as Cuba. All the exiles in the American colonies who were able made an attempt to get back to Acadia. About two hundred families carried this plan into effect; 800 started from Boston in 1766 to walk back through the woods of Maine; some who had gone to South Carolina sailed back in two old vessels. These made a rendezvous at the River St. John, and from there they started out again for Nova Scotia, where the most hardy of them arrived after months of privation. They were imprisoned at Halifax, and after the peninsula was well stocked with Englishmen they were permitted to take possession of certain wild and arid coasts. This is the origin of the present colony of St. Mary's Bay near Cape Sable. Strange to say, after all the proscriptions and violence certain families seem to have eluded all pursuit and remained in Nova Scotia all the time and

**Return of Ex-
iles.**

Rich. II., p. 325.

**St. Mary's Bay
Colony.**

formed little communities here and there. The number of these was of course small.

It has been thought best, for the sake of clearness, to practically finish up the story of the Acadians of Nova Scotia before saying much of those who either escaped from the proscription of 1755, or that of 1758, or who wandering back to Acadia from the South, found homes along the way, went to Canada, or took up the lot of the pioneers of Madawaska.

**Summary of
Deportation.**

Rich. II. p. 338,
341.
Rameau, C. F.,
II., p. 226.
Rameau, F. aux
C., II., p. 66.
Bourinot, p. 231.
Parkman, M. &
W. L., p. 293.

To sum the whole matter up, at the year 1755, there were in Acadia, on the peninsula, the shores of the Bay of Fundy and Prince Edward Island at least 18,000 Acadians. About 6500 were sent to different parts of the Atlantic colonies; 700 at one time or another took refuge in what is now New Brunswick; 500 or 600 remained in Nova Scotia with the Indians; 1500 were re-sent from the colonies to England; 4000 sent direct to Europe in 1758. Of this number, 600 died in England, 400 went down in shipwreck, 900 died in passage, 1500 perished in colonies; 4500 disappeared without leaving much sign, of old age, misery and hardship.

THE ST. JOHN RIVER.

River St. John.

It has been pointed out that a large number of the Acadians living outside the peninsula of Nova Scotia escaped the deportation of 1755, remaining in their retreats or making their way to more remote places. Some of these fugitives fell under the proscription of 1758 and were taken to England, but others, for example, those who took refuge on the River St. John, went through differ-

Ancient Colony.

Rich. II., p. 255,
279, 305, 324,
327.
Canong in C. H.
K., p. 74.
Charlevoix I., p.
254.
Greswett, p. 112.
Roberts, p. 29,
52.
Rameau, F. C:
I., p. 145 (n).

ent experiences. One of the retreats, and perhaps the most frequented of the exiled Acadians, was the River St. John. The colony in early times seems to have received no other name than that derived from the river. This colony, though so small that it is hardly thought worthy of being included in many of the censuses, was very ancient. In fact, it was one of the first places known to the French settlers of Poutrincourt's group. A circumstantial account of it is found in the Denys narrative.

History centres about the mouth of the river where stood the fort attacked by D'Aulnay while LaTour was absent and the place defended by his wife; and the ancient seigneurie of Jemseg or Jemsek, later called the parish of Ekouipak, some forty leagues from the river mouth. This part of the country was conceded as a seigneurie to the Damour family, who were already installed there in 1686. In 1693, there were 21 inhabitants; in 1698, 50; in 1739, 116. As regards the establishment at the mouth of the river, Casgrain writes:—

“Some of D'Aulnay's colonists, attracted as LaTour had been, by the advantages of the place as a harbor, established themselves there. They formed in 1755 a little colony protected by the fort Menangouèche, where the government of Canada kept a garrison. In consequence of the devastations of 1755, the little colony was destroyed or dispersed.” See appendix 1.

Mitchel's map of 1755 indicates Jemsek some leagues up the river on the borders of a lake, and a little to the East on the same borders is a place marked “Acadian village.” Concerning this village, the boundary statement presented to the King of the Netherlands says: “The remote situation of an Acadian village, which as first laid down in Mitchel's map, was at first near the East branch of the St. John, near the Lake Française, or Grand Lake, preserved its inhabitants from being transported and dispersed with the rest of the original French inhabitants of Acadia.”

Jemsek.

Casg. Pel. p. 162,
165.
Rameau, F. aux
C. I., p. 143
(n10), 145.

Hither came some fugitives immediately after the deportation. One of the vessels of the deportation sailing from Port Royal, was captured by the Acadians on board and beached in the River St. John. There were 226 people on board this ship. Their story may be read in Casgrain (Pel. p. 165). In 1756, some of those deported to South Carolina, arrived at the River St. John in two small vessels. The number is put as 900. Other fugitives came in from time to time, until there were at one time from 1200 to 1400 Acadians gathered here. A memoir of De Vaudreuil states that food became scarce and that the people were forced to migrate. A large

Rendezvous on St.
John, 1756-58.

**Expelled by
Monckton, 1758.**

Casg. Pel., p.

237.

Raymond in C.

H. R., p. 281.

Roberts, p. 180.

number went to Quebec. Some went up the river and continued on to Three Rivers. Others became pirates and harassed British commerce. Those who remained were surprised in 1758 by a party under Monckton and driven up the river. Some may have lingered in the woods in the vicinity, but when the party of 800 arrived from Boston in 1766, through the Maine woods, it is not stated that they met any of their brethren, though it is stated that at Petieodiac they came upon certain hunters whom they recognized as Acadians. However, it is worth while stating that both Rameau and Casgrain incline to the view that this Boston party halted, not at the mouth of the St. John, but rather in the vicinity of Frederickton, in the village of St. Anne.

**Expelled by
Hazen.**

St. Anne, 1759.

Raymond in C.

H. R., p. 281.

It is pretty well settled that the larger number who remained in New Brunswick went up the river and some miles above the site of Frederickton founded the village of St. Anne. This village was attacked early in the year 1759 by a party of New England Rangers under Hazen: 6 women and children were killed and 23 prisoners were taken. The village was burned. A local historian, by name Perley, states that in 1762, his grandfather with an exploring party found "the devastated settlements of the French and the blackened remains of their buildings which had been mercilessly burned." In 1761, Governor Bulkley reported that there were 40 Acadians at this place who had not made submission. They were ordered to leave without even gathering their crops. Again, in 1766, Bulkley directed all these people in the vicinity, except 6 families, to be chosen by the priest, Father Bailly, to remove. A letter written by this Fr. Bailly from Ekouipahan to Bishop Briand, June 20, 1768, states that there were 11 Acadian families living near this place. These people were nomadic, hunting and fishing. These statements have been grouped together because they are somewhat contradictory. It is strange that the fugitives of Monckton's attack in 1758 could have gone to Frederickton and by 1759 have built a village and cleared lands to such an extent that in 1762 the ruins would be

**Expelled by
Bulkley, 1766.**

Raymond in C.

H. R., p. 280,

334.

Casg. Pel., p.

240.

much in evidence after Hazen's attack. However, since the land was not densely wooded near the river bank and the Acadians were expert woodsmen, they may have accomplished this in the time given. According to the account the settlement of St. Anne must have been in 1759 one of some growth and importance. Not only this, but some authorities state that the village flourished up to the close of the American Revolution. If this be true, they must have returned to the site of the burned village after 1762 and rebuilt, or else built elsewhere near by and called the second village St. Anne, and meanwhile have disobeyed the commands of Bulkley and eluded any attempts to dislodge them. There were even some Acadians at the mouth of the St. John in 1769, for they were employed by the founders of that place in diking a large marsh near the present city. Of course, New Brunswick was practically untenanted except by Acadians and Indians up to the close of the Revolution, if one excepts a few small settlements by English. They were nomadic and accustomed to living in the woods, hence it would be hard to keep them out except by a garrison maintaining practical war all the time.

Raymond, p.
283.

The Acadian settlement on the Kennebecasis seems to have remained in existence up to 1788, at least at that date certain settlers emigrated thence further inland. All this goes to show that the Acadians haunted the interior of New Brunswick well up to the year 1783 or after. But hunted as they were from place to place, their settlements for the most part can have been little better than encampments, and when the fugitives went farther inland hardly any vestiges of occupation remained.

Kennebecasis.

Raymond in C.
H. R., p. 283.

The Acadian settlement on the Kennebecasis not far from the fief of Jemsek seems to have rested undisturbed up to the year 1788 or after. All this goes to show that the fugitive Acadians haunted the lower St. John well up to 1783. Rameau and Casgrain mention Fredericton as the main depot of the N. B. Acadians after 1755, making the pilgrimage of 1766 from Boston arrive there instead

Lower St. John.

Raymond, C. H.
R., p. 283.
Rameau, F. aux
C., 1-63, C. F.
D., p. 178.

of lower down near the river mouth. In connection with the Acadian residence in this district, it may be well to quote the letter of Fr. Bailly, noted above, to show how the Acadians employed themselves while here:

See appendix 2. "There are eleven Acadians families on the outskirts of the village, the same ones whom Your Lordship kindly confirmed at Saint Anne. The Acadians who have remained among the English are still very fervent; their only fault is a great wrongheadedness, either on the subject of each remaining in his own district and being unwilling to unite with the rest; or in the matter of land which they want to hold under the old time conditions, responsible to the king alone. This is the reproach of the English who detest them. The government is not willing to give them land on this condition, yet exacts from them an oath of fidelity. It is a hard task to attend to them, for they live in districts apart from one another, during the summer on the seashore fishing, and in the winter in the woods hunting."

What provincial enactments and divers military sallies, from 1758-1783, failed to accomplish was finally brought about by another means. The end of the Revolution found the lot of the Tories in the new republic far from pleasant; several of them were hanged, and others shot. After the treaty of Paris they came in large numbers over the line into New Brunswick. The English government owed many obligations to these people, who, whatever their faults, had deserved well of the mother country. The government fulfilled these obligations by giving the Loyalists and disbanded soldiers large grants in New Brunswick. The Loyalists found Acadians on these grants. The English government, though it seems to have disapproved of the cruelties of Hazen, did not wish to interrupt the English settlements along the lower St. John by a French settlement at Fredericton; the Acadians were again ordered to remove. These orders the Loyalists ably seconded, as may be seen from Casgrain:

See appendix 3. "The establishment at the River St. John became a living hell for the Acadians who held to their lands. Some of them went away to join their dispossessed brethren who had founded the Madawaska colony."

There seems to be some warrant for this strong language; at all events the Loyalists speedily made the region of the lower St. John as uncomfortable as the Americans had made the United States for them, so that the Aca-

dians were willing to abandon their farms and improve-ments and start out into the wilderness again. This was between 1783-5. The Acadian current was finally set in the direction of Madawaska. Casgrain and Rameau, in various places, insinuate without references that parties of the Acadians had gone to Madawaska before this time—shortly after the events of 1755, in fact. An account given in the Maine Superintendent of Schools' report for 1897 speaks of the French as passing above Grand Falls and settling in the valley of the upper St. John in 1756. Mr. Stetson states that this account is derived from Acadian traditions. Whatever may be the foundation for these statements, the first authenticated account is that in 1785 or 6, the Acadian vanguard, composed of about 20 families, forced out of the Fredericton region by the Loyalists, determined to be secure from further interference, went far up the St. John, past the site of modern Woodstock, carried around the great falls of the St. John near the boundary line between the United States and New Brunswick, and entered into the long, narrow, rich valley of the upper St. John.

Casgrain p. 239.,
Emigration to
Madawaska.

See appendix 3.

"In 1784 the expatriated of 1755 located at the River St. John were anew dispossessed in favor of American loyalists and disbanded soldiers. These unfortunate families powerless against force could do nothing but betake themselves to the forests. They ascended the River St. John, thirty leagues from any habitation, and axe in hand opened up the plains of Madawaska."

Casgrain, Pel.,
p. 239.

MADAWASKA.

The River St. John, above Grand Falls, checked by massive rock formations, spreads out and becomes much wider than it is for miles below. For nearly 100 miles it flows between high banks which are densely wooded. The writers quoted generally speak of the locality as mountainous, a description hardly exact, for the region is rather hilly, but without heights of importance. In the process of time immense low-lying meadows or inter-
vales have been formed of great fertility on account of

Valley of Upper
St. John.
Jackson Geol.
Report. 1836.

the periodical irrigation. Though high ground and even cliffs are characteristic of the land skirting this valley, the shore in some places is low and stretches off in immense plains extending far inland. This is especially the case at Fort Kent, where the junction of the Fish River with the St. John has formed alluvial soil. Jackson's Report for 1836 describes the geological formation of this part of the State, as well as the characteristic features of the territory. The report of Hamblin, the land agent, in 1839 says: "Upon a glance at the public lands it will be seen that the fertile valley of the St. John River extends through the whole breadth of the northern part of the State, and with the Aroostook valley includes above one-third part of our whole territory."

Maine Resolves,
1832.

The Acadian vanguard traversed this valley for some 30 miles before it halted on the south side of the river, two or three miles below the Madawaska and the present town of Edmonston. The French found here two Canadians keeping a trading house. Both these men were to figure in the political history of later years. Mr. Deane in his admirable letter to Gov. Smith, written in 1828, gives this account of them: In 1782, a Canadian boy named Pierre Lizotte wandered away from home and lived for some months with the Maliseet Indians of the St. John. On his return home, he induced his half-brother, Pierre Duperré, to go back to the Madawaska region with him, and here in 1783 they set up a trading house, where the Acadians found them, and not far from the spot where John Giles, in his narrative of captivity among the Maliseets, relates that he found an old Indian keeping a trading station.

Raymond, C. H.
R., 1900.

The valley of the upper St. John, while there is no record of its occupation by whites prior to Lizotte's coming, had been long known to the French. Champlain's map of 1612 faintly delineates the district. Francklin's map of 1686 mentions the name Madawaska, applying it to Lake Temisquata. The name itself is from the Indian word Med-a-wes-kek, signifying "porcupine place,"

or "junction of rivers." It was softened by the French into Madoueska, and changed by the English into the unmusical Madawaska.

There is no necessity of assuming that the twenty families who arrived in the upper valley in 1784-5 stumbled on the place by accident or settled there by an accident. On the contrary, such information as has been handed down shows the contrary. During the Revolution Gov. Haldimand utilized the St. John as a postal route. In a letter written Nov. 27, 1783, to Gov. Parr, he states that he has been informed by Louis Mercure, one of the Acadian couriers, that the French wished to come to Quebec for the sake of their religion. He suggested that it would be a good plan to establish them at Grand Falls. Long before this time, the couriers de bois, who ranged all over the country in their fur trade, must have informed the people at St. Ann of the nature of the country above the Falls. The British commissioner, Holland, in his report to the governor, stated July 26, 1787, that he met Capt. Sproule, Surveyor General of New Brunswick, at Madawaska. He mentions the repugnance expressed by the Acadians to the idea of being separated from the province of New Brunswick. Later on in this same report he says: "I informed the people disposed to settle on the spots Mr. Finlay pointed out as most convenient for the establishment of post houses on the road. They in general were inclined to settle from the Falls up the St. John as far as Madawaska, the land thus far being good, but from there to the St. Lawrence I found them much averse to settle, owing to the barrenness of the land in general." This, when considered with the statement that lands were promised the Acadians on leaving the lower St. John, and with the letter of Gov. Haldimand revealing an intention of building a settlement in this locality which would facilitate postal service and colonize the country between the St. John and the St. Lawrence, shows almost conclusively that the Acadian settlement was part of a plan originating with the Eng-

Gov. Haldimand,
1783.

Raymond, C. H.
R., V. I., p. 335.

In N. E. Bound-
ary Doc.

lish government. No doubt whatever would exist on the point were there not most positive testimony to the contrary.

Maine
Documents on
Settlement.

Deane.
Maine doc., 1828-
41.

The State documents of the New England boundary dispute deal largely with the Acadians of Madawaska. The two men who were best informed on this head were Messrs. Deane and Davies, the American commissioners. They travelled through the district in 1828, and have left their judgments on record. First, Mr. Deane: "The Acadians, or neutral French, whose ancestors had been settled at the head of the Bay of Fundy, or in that country now called Nova Scotia, and had been driven from thence and had established themselves at St. Ann's, now Fredericton, and in that region, being disturbed by the introduction of the refugees and the acts of the governor of New Brunswick, which dispossessed them of their farms, fled up the St. John in search of places of residence out of the reach of British laws and oppression; 20 or more families moved and settled themselves on the St. John, below the trading station, which Pierre Duperre had made a few years before. Here they continued in unmolested enjoyment of their property for some years."

Davies.
Resolves, 1828.

Next, Mr. Davies: "It may be proper to advert to the situation of a colony of French settlers which planted itself within our territory, principally, if not entirely, since the acknowledgment and establishment of the bounds of Massachusetts by the treaty of 1783. Situated near the borders of the American territory, they appear to have preserved their neutral character and to have remained as a people by themselves, so far as they might be permitted by their position toward the province of New Brunswick. Without having any sympathy with the system established in that government, they have not been in a condition to oppose the exercise of any power that might be exerted over them."

Both these documents evince throughout a conviction on the part of the writers that the Acadians settled in Madawaska of their own volition; and whatever the

English may have done in their regard was done against their wishes.

Both these documents date from 1828 at the earliest. The information on which they were built is not given; the documents were arguments in the boundary claim, gotten up long after the actual settlement. There is no evidence extant to prove that the State of Maine knew anything of the Madawaska settlement prior to 1817, when certain Kennebec men settled above it on the same river. The State of Maine claimed all the land as far up as the St. Lawrence watershed, and the commissioners wished to prove that the settlements within this territory were effected without British co-operation. But in the light of the evidence the claim in regard to the French settlement seems unwarranted. Another fact which shows how thoroughly the English had taken possession of the new settlement is found in the court records of Quebec. In the court of common pleas, proceedings were commenced in 1789 and continued to Jan. 20, 1791, in a suit for damages brought by Pierre Duperré and Augustine Dubé, residing at Madawaska. Both these men were Canadians.

**n. e.
Boundary
Dispute.**

Relative to Duperré, who figures more anon, Mr. Deane has this to say: "Pierre Duperré being a man of some learning had great influence with his neighbors, and the British authorities of the province of New Brunswick, seeing his consequence in the settlement, began early to caress and flatter him. In the year 1790 they induced him to receive from them a grant of the land he possessed. Influenced as well by Duperré as with the hope of not being again disturbed and driven from their possessions as they and their ancestors more than once had been by the British, this large body of Frenchmen were all induced to receive grants from New Brunswick of the land they possessed, for which some paid 10 shillings and others nothing."

Duperre.
Deane, p. 10.

Though the Acadians of Madawaska did not bother their heads about town politics, and seemingly found a

Petition to
Bishop of
Quebec.

See appen.

way to dispense with the elaborate political machinery that is part of every American village, they very quickly took the initiative and showed that they understood the right of petition when they thought the occasion required it. In 1792, 24 heads of families acting for 31 families, the total number in the settlement, made up a petition to the Archbishop of Quebec, asking permission to build a church. This petition is a curiosity in its way and is appended. It is the only authentic document of an early date emanating from the people themselves. It shows quite conclusively the number in Madawaska at the time. Moreover, it shows that from the first the Canadian element had an important part in the settlement of this territory. The good priest who drew up the petition (for the people could neither read nor write), took care to indicate in the margin beside each signature the nationality of the signer. Nearly half the signers were Canadians. The Acadian names are quite distinctive, and can generally be easily known from the Canadian. The names, Ayotte, Souci, Gagne, Levassour, Denoye and Mazzerol, are Canadian; the rest Acadian.

To His Lordship.

John Francis Hubert, Bishop of Quebec, etc.:

The people of Madawaska, York County, Province of New Brunswick, on the St. John River, your most obedient children in God, having been informed of the prohibition against building a church or chapel without Your Lordship's permission, take the liberty in all respect of placing before your eyes certain reasons which they consider good and well-founded for obtaining this permission.

See appendix 4.

The undersigned petitioners, Your Lordship, have in all this region no fit church or chapel for the celebration of divine service during the time of the mission. Thus far necessity has obliged them to hold these services in some poor bark hut, the poverty and misery of the few inhabitants, none of whom have been here more than seven years, permitting nothing else. But now that the number of people is multiplied by the richness of the soil which attracts strangers, there is every hope that the establishment will be permanent. The first idea and design of the inhabitants is to build in wood a decent and proper chapel according to the means of the people, who cannot but increase. It is impossible to find in this region sufficient material to build in stone. Thus, having explained their need, unanimous among themselves and with the Indians, who, delighted with the idea of the French, have promised to contribute to the expenses of the building, the petitioners most humbly beg Your Lordship to approve of their project and to grant your consent so that they may go to work as soon as possible. Entirely convinced and assured of obtaining your

approbation, they have before the departure of the Indians made with these the necessary agreements. We, the chosen church-wardens for conducting the work, have promised and do now promise that after Your Lordship's approbation has been given, they will work together peaceably to finish the project in hand in such a manner as to merit your protection and render the establishment worthy of your remembrance. The undersigned know of no titular or patron of their region, and humbly ask Your Lordship that in permitting them to build a chapel you will be pleased to accord them a patron saint as a protector of their new settlement. Your humble petitioners will not cease to raise their feeble prayers to heaven for the conservation of your illustrious person, so necessary for the welfare of the faithful and particularly for that of the undersigned, who believe themselves most honored to be counted in the number of your most respectful and obedient children in God.

Marque de †Joseph Degle	ler Mar-	Marque de †Joseph Guimon.
guillier.		" †Alexandre Albert.
" †Jacques Sir	2d Marg.	" †Mathurin Beaulieu.
" †Alexandre Ayotte	3	" †Joseph Degle fils.
ler Marg.		" †Jean Levasseur.
" †J. Bte Sir.		" †Baptiste Degle.
" †Francios Sir.		" †J. B. Denoyer.
" †Olivier Tibaud.		" †Simon Hebert.
" †Paul Sir.		" †Germain Souci.
" †Jos Souci.		" †Olivier Tibaud.
" Pierre Syr		" †J. B. Tibaud.
" †Antoine Gagne,		" †J. B. Nasserol.
" †Francois Albert.		" †Louis Sanfacon.

Seven inhabitants of the said locality being absent were not able to sign, but before their departure they have testified that they would approve whatever would be decided upon by the assembly.

Madawaska, July 23, 1792.

J. H. PAQUET, Ptre misse.

A letter from Fr. Dionne, quoted by Rameau, states that the names of the Madawaska Acadians show that they are come of the purest Acadian blood, nearly all the families being derived from the original families of 1671. The petition was granted and the church, dedicated to St. Basil, was built on the north side of the St. John, some five miles below the Madawaska. From its archives the petition has been copied. These archives, running back to 1792, show some other facts about the early history of the colony. The first recorded baptism in that year is of a Daigle, an Acadian; the next two, Soucy and Sanfacon, are both Canadian.

Rameau, F. aux
C., app. 8.

After the Acadians had received their grants they seem to have settled down to undisturbed peace for some years. Mr. Deane's letter has some information on this head:

"A few families established themselves in 1807 a few miles above the mouth of the Madawaska River. They all lived in mutual good-fellowship, recognizing and practising the duties of morality and religion and governed solely by the laws of honor and common sense. They continued to live in this manner to as late a period as 1818, and the British had made no grant higher up the St. John than those mentioned above, unless the transportation of the mail through to Canada and the granting of a commission to Pierre Duperre in 1798 as captain of militia, there being no military organization until 28 years afterwards, may be called acts of jurisdiction. In 1798 the River St. Croix was determined, and its source ascertained under the treaty called Jay's treaty. At this period terminated all acts and pretences of acts of jurisdiction in the Madawaska settlement by the British for a period of 20 years, and until it was discovered by them that Mars Hill was the northwest angle of New Brunswick."

See appendix 5.

"About this time, 1790, another body of the descendants of the Acadians or neutral French, who had sought refuge on the Kennebecasis river, were there disturbed in their possessions and in like manner sought a refuge with their countrymen at Madawaska. After having residence at Madawaska some years they were induced, as their countrymen had been, to receive grants of the land they had taken into possession from the Governor of New Brunswick."

C. H. R., 1900,
p. 339.

For the names of the original grantees, I cannot do better than quote from the admirable paper, entitled "Notes on Madawaska," by Rev. W. O. Raymond, which has been referred to many times during these pages:

**British Grantees,
First Grant.**

"The grantees of Acadian origin on the New Brunswick side were Louis Mercure, Michel Mercure, Joseph Mercure, Alexis Cyr, Oliver Cyr, Marie Marguerite Daigle, Jean Baptist Daigle, Paul Cyr, Pierre Cyr, Alexandre Cyr, Jean Baptiste Thibodeau, Jr., Joseph Thibodeau, Etienne Thibodeau. The grantees of Acadian origin on the Amer-

ican side of the river were Simon Hebert, Paul Potier, Jean Baptiste Mazerolle, Jr., Francois Cyr, Jr., Joseph Daigle, Sr., Joseph Daigle, Jr., Jacques Cyr, Francois Cyr, Firmin Cyr, Sr., Jean Baptiste Cyr, Jr., Michel Cyr, Joseph Hebert, Antoine Cyr, Jean Martin, Joseph Cyr, Jr., Jean Baptiste Cyr, Sr., Firmin Cyr, Jr., Jean Thibodeau, Sr., Joseph Mazerolle. In addition to these there are several grantees, whose descendants claim to be of Acadian origin, and say their ancestors came from the 'lower country' (pays-bas); but I am not able to determine whether the following are undoubtedly of Acadian origin or not, viz.: Louis Saufacon, Mathurin Beaulieu, Joseph Ayotte, Zacharie Ayotte, Alexandre Ayotte.

"Respecting the grantees who are undoubtedly of Canadian origin, those on the New Brunswick side of the river are Jean Tardiff, Jean Levasseur, Joseph Dumont (or Guimond) and Antoine Gagnier: and those on the American side, Joseph Sausier, Jean Marie Sausier, Jean Baptiste Fournier, Joseph Au Clair, Francois Albert, Pierre Lizotte, Augustin Dubé and Pierre Duperré.

"The second grant, made in the year 1794, extended from Green river (with many vacancies) to a little below Grand river. Some six names that occur in the former grant are omitted from the enumeration that follows. Several of the settlers in this grant are known to have formerly lived at French Village, on the Kennebecasis. The names of those Acadians who settled on the east side of the St. John are as follows: Olivier Thibodeau, Baptiste Thibodeau, Joseph Theriault, Joseph Theriault, Jr., Olivier Thibodeau, Jr., Jean Thibodeau, Firmin Thibodeau, Hilarion Cyr, and there seem to have been but two Canadians, viz.: Louis Ouellette and Joseph Souci. Those Acadians, who settled on the American side, are as follows: Gregoire Thibodeau, Louis LeBlanc, Pierre Cormier, Alexis Cormier, Baptiste Cormier, Francois Cormier, Joseph Cyr, Jr., Firmin Cyr, Joseph Cyr, Francois Violette, Sr., and Augustin Violette; and there are three

Second Grant.

Canadians, viz.: Joseph Michaud, Baptiste Charette and Germain Soucie."

**Social
Condition.**

It should be taken into consideration that there was little or no question of boundary lines at the time these grants were made, least of all among these simple people whose great hope was to find somewhere a refuge where they could cultivate their fields and live in peace. Whether the authorities of the State of Maine knew of the establishment before 1817 or not, there is little doubt that the Acadians knew very little of the new republic, and what little they knew would not make them anxious to take residence within its borders. Their experience with New England men had been unpleasant. There was no one to tell them that the United States claimed this territory: they simply settled there thinking the land was open to settlers, and borrowed no trouble. The whole history of the Boundary dispute, loaded with argument and heated with rhetoric, exhibits no direct evidence of any predilection on the part of the Acadians for any particular form of government whatever. They were self governing and desired merely to be let alone. They saw no necessity of holding a town meeting and organizing political machinery. Things were regulated as they had been in Acadia. Mr. Davies, in his report of 1828, states their condition very well:

Maine Resolves
1828, p. 780.

"Little occasion could be presented for the employment of criminal process among the relics of a primitive population represented as of a mild, industrious, frugal and pious character, desirous of finding a refuge under the patriarchal and spiritual power of their religion. It has been the custom for them to settle their civil affairs of every description, including their accidental disputes and differences by the aid of one or two arbiters or umpires associated with the Catholic priest, who is commonly a missionary from Canada."

In the American documents on the boundary matter it is stated that no American census of the Madawaska

settlement was taken up in 1810, because no decision had as yet been reached.

Though the State of Massachusetts had instituted a survey of the North of Maine for the treaty of 1782, some mistakes were made and there does not seem to have been any accurate knowledge of this part of the country until later. Mr. Davies in his 1828 report states: "It is not known whether any individual of European origin existed on this territory at the peace of 1782; or that, excepting aborigines, any other than descendants of French ancestors had made any occupation prior to the peace of 1815." Later on it is stated: "In 1817 an American was invited to seat himself near the mouth of the Madawaska river. . . This American afterwards moved away to a situation near the St. Francis."

In 1825, the Maine Legislature passed a resolve: "Whereas, there are a number of settlers on the undivided public lands on St. John and Madawaska rivers, many of whom have resided thereon for more than 30 years," . . . It would appear that 1817 was the time of the first American settlement and the first knowledge given to the State authorities of the population so long fixed there. "The first American settlement was made above the French and commenced from the clearest information in the year 1817. It consisted of several persons then citizens of Massachusetts who had moved from the Kennebec and established themselves with their families on different spots, the lowest at the mouth of the Mariumpicook, and the highest not far from the mouth of the St. Francis." The two oldest settlers were Nathan Baker and John Bacon.

**American
Settlement.**

Maine Resolves
1828, p. 704.

In 1820 the American census of the district was taken up, as Mr. Washburn remarks in his paper on the New England Boundary, without British interference. This document is appended. It is not in its original form entirely; that is the different classes into which the census officials divide people of different ages have been summed up for each family head. But the names are

Census of 1820.

Washburn in
Me. His. Soc.
Doc. 1879.

Maine Report,
1828, p. 786.

given as the census agent took them down, often with a startling disregard for French orthography. Mr. Davies in his often mentioned report says concerning this census: "It amounted to over 1100. The computation probably included a number of American settlers, who had come into the country not long before." An inspection of the list will hardly warrant this statement, for with the exception of the name of Nathan Baker (above mentioned) there is hardly a distinctively American or English name. Besides Baker's name there is but one other which is familiar to English ears—Carney. It may be presumed that the census man knew how to spell English names, and the other names in this list are so atrociously misspelled that one is justified in assuming that they were foreign to his ears.

Extract of U. S. Census of 1820 for Matawaska :

Francis Violet	9	Lario Bellfley	6	Ran Pelkey	10
Alevey Tibedore	8	Nicholas Pelchey	6	Jarom Morio	9
Joseph Markure	1	John Betuke	5	Vasio Bare	9
Henry Turdey	7	Alexander Crock	4	Barnum Buschiere	7
Lewis Willet	15	John B. Tibedore 3d	8	Jermin Joshia	8
Jos. Sompishaw	6	Lewis Stephed	3	Betis Joshia	14
Susan Tibedore	11	Henry Versier	2	Ely Neehoson	10
Jeremiah Dubey	13	David Tibedore	5	Clemo Sminon	9
Loron Sear	12	Michael Tibedore	5	Joseph Mashaw	12
Issac Violet	5	Peter Crock	7	John Harford	6
John Isaac Violet	9	John Betis Tibedore	2	John Hitchambow	8
Alexander Violet	7	Betis Lewsure	5	Lewis Leebore	5
John Mireshier	13	Joseph Lewsure	6	Paul Marquis	4
Peter Pelthey	5	Francis Tibedo	5	Gruino Chasse	5
Charles Martin	4	Jeremiah Crock	6	Joseph Michaud	11
John B. Martin	11	Harris Lawshiere	4	Albert Albera, Jr.	4
Bart. Burgoin	7	David Cyer	5	Alare An L Clare	3
Andrew Martin	7	Charle Adyet	7	Joseph Martin	9
Belon Martin	4	Peter Duperre	3	Simon Martin	9
Bartis Morris	7	Peter Lezart	11	Joseph Albert	9
Charles Bolio	7	John Betisiere	10	Elecis Cyr	13
Peter McCure	6	Christopher Cyer	10	Joseph Cyr	11
Jerman Morio	9	Joseph Cyer	7	Benjamin Nedar	13
Bazell Martin	5	John Betis Dogle	10	Lewis Belflour	9
David Crock	10	Chrisost Cyer	12	Michael Mecure	8
Larison Violet	4	Joseph Adyet	7	Lewis Mecure	10
Lewis Sempishaw	7	Nasrie Cyr	12	Francis Martin, Jr.	11
Francis Carney	13	Joseph Daggle	9	Michale Martin, 3rd	10
Frederic Tareo	6	Demeque Daggle	6	Michael Serene	18
Simon Fred'c Tareo	10	Michael Babtert	4	Lewis Belflour, Jr.	7
Peter Camio	9	Augustine Martin	6	Anthony Gange	11
Alexander Carmio	6	Michael Man	9	Nicholas Peltiere	18
Oliver Tibedore	6	Vincent Albert	5	Augustine Peltiere	3
Augustis Violet	13	Germanis Sawuire	12	Nicholas Peltiere, Jr.	6

Francis Violet	5	Clement Sauciere	12	Leon Belfleur	3
John B. Parser	5	Joseph Michaud	8	John Thibodeau	9
Greguire Tibedore	12	Isaac Violetrd	10	John B. Thibodeau	7
Paulet Tibedore	9	Fermin Nadard	10	Jean Sier	5
John B. Gavah	3	German Dube	9	Michael Thibodeau	5
Augustine Gavah	3	Nathan Baker	7	David Thibodeau	5
Phinney Stephedo	8	Colemarkee Chrint	12	Joseph Thibodeau	8
Benjamin Versier	4	Joseph Mashaw	21	George Thibodeau	8
Joseph Tarrio	5	Jeremy Jermer	12	Lewis Thibodeau	3
Lawrence Tarrio	7	Paul Marker	14	Jno. B. O. Thibedore	5
Phermah Dusett	11	Joseph Albare	7	Francis Dorsett	9
John B. Tibedore, Jr.	6	Levy Clare	8	Lorent Jenian	7
George Tibedore	10	Joseph Nedow		Joseph Jenian	5
Betis Tibedore	5	Mermeit Dogle	9	Benj. Lerassaus	4
John B. Tibedore	6	Joseph Pelkey	10	Honerd Lerassaus	10

This census may be considered as a fairly accurate survey of the families in this entire section at the time. There are 55 distinct family names for 1171 souls; one of these names is stated to be merely a nickname for an older family branch. Only 11 of the family names in the 1820 census figure in the original grants of 1790 and 1794. Of the whole number 7 families constitute one-third of the population, and if the name Crock is identified with Cyr the list is reduced to 6. The Cyr family had 98 or 124 members according to the reckoning. Thibodeau 163, Daigle 34, Martin 56, Theriault 28, Violette 64. Some of the Canadian families had many members, e. g., Pelletier 58. The palm is borne off by Michael Serene, who counts in his household 23 persons. It will be seen that all the prominent settlers who were to figure in the events of 1831 are already resident here and are counted in the census; among these are Lizotte, Duperre and Hebert. The only name recognizably American is that of Nathan Baker, who died soon afterward. His brother John married the widow, took charge of the property and has gone down in history with the title of General and in many other ways contributed to make the name of Baker famous in border annals. The men who were to obtain office in the abortive town meeting do not figure in this census at all.

In 1825, the Legislature passed the resolve relative to giving deeds to the American settlers on the St. John. In this the State of Massachusetts having a claim on these

Border War.

lands agreed. In that same year the land agents went up to the territory and surveyed the land near the American settlement and made out two deeds, one to John Baker and the other to James Bacon. The British authorities were not at all pleased at the advent of the Americans. Various pretexts were taken to assert claims over them, among these being an alien tax. On their part, the Americans seem to have vindicated the character proper to freemen in foreign parts. They circulated a paper in form of a compact which bound them to adjust disputes without recurring to British authority. "As a prelude to this arrangement, the Americans generally assembled on land conveyed to John Baker by the States of Maine and Massachusetts and there erected a staff and raised a crude representation of the national eagle. They also partook of a repast provided by Baker and enjoyed the festivity in the manner that is usual to Americans in celebrating that occasion." No British authorities were invited to this flag raising, but it would seem that they were supposed to take notice of it. It was a throwing down of the gauntlet. The British took it up; they cut down the flag staff and carried the national emblem off to Fredericton jail. In this unobtrusive way the little cloud on the St. John grew until it (almost) assumed the importance of war. Mr. Deane states: "They (the British) issued legal processes against two citizens of the United States who had settled in the wilderness many miles beyond where the British had ever exercised any acts of jurisdiction before." Only one of these, the one against Baker, was ever prosecuted.

Letter to Gov.
Smith.

While these things were going on in the small and active American settlement, the 1500 or more French further down the river were quietly occupying and clearing land. In accordance with their custom from the first, their business was done through Canadian channels. As early as 1797, a British Justice of the Peace had established himself at Madawaska; his name was Rice and he took part in the international politics of 1831. In order to show how thoroughly the jurisdictions of the United

States and Canada were mixed at this time it may be well to mention a deed to some French property in the valley See appendix 6. of the St. John.

As a matter of fact, though the British built forts and maintained garrisons, there was no serious outbreak until 1831. At that time the legislature incorporated the town of Madawaska, and early in that year the members of the American settlement came down to the French settlement to hold a town meeting and elect officers. Since the history of the facts is much more interesting in the words of the men who figured in the affair, and history by contemporaries is the order of the day, we will let them tell their own story. Deposition of John Baker, taken at Portland before F. O. J. Smith:

"I, John Baker, of lawful age, depose and say that I am a resident on the north side of the River St. John, about 12 miles above the mouth of the Madawaska river and within the territory incorporated by the name of the town of Madawaska, State of Maine. That I was present at a meeting of the inhabitants of the said territory holden in the latter part of August, last year, 1831, at the dwelling house of Peter Lezart, on the south side of the River St. John and within the limits of the said territory. Said meeting was holden pursuant to a warrant of Wm. D. Williamson, Esq., one of the justices of the peace throughout the State, directed to Walter Powers, one of the inhabitants of the said territory, to notify certain inhabitants to meet as aforesaid for the purpose of organizing a government of said town, by the choice of a moderator, town clerk and selectmen. Said inhabitants so assembled proceeded to the choice of the officers mentioned. Aforesaid Powers had called the meeting one Leonard Coombs, a captain in the militia in Madawaska, objected and protested against all further proceedings in the meeting and threatened the inhabitants aforesaid with imprisonment if they voted or took part in the fur-

Story of Trouble.

Maine Resolves
1829-35, p.p.
473-96.

ther proceedings contemplated in the warrant calling the meeting. One Francis Rice, a resident at Madawaska, and a justice of the Peace under the provincial government of New Brunswick, also protested against the meeting and used many opprobrious and threatening terms against the government and the authorities of the State of Maine, and against all persons who were taking part or participating in the organization of the town aforesaid. Mr. Powers, however, eventually succeeded in regaining order in the meeting and the inhabitants to the number of 50 or 60 who were present proceeded to the choice of Barnabas Hunnewell as moderator, Jesse Wheelock for town clerk and Dan. Savage, John Harford, Amos Maddocks for selectmen. But because of the threatening language and tenor used by Mr. Rice and Coombs, all of the persons present aforesaid did not vote in the choice of officers. After these proceedings the town meeting was adjourned sine die. About 12 or 15 persons voted in the said meeting. Another town meeting was holden for the choice of a representative on the 2nd Monday of September, 1831, pursuant to the provisions of the constitution of Maine. The meeting was holden at the house of Raphael Martin in said town of Madawaska, on the south side of the River St. John. Mr. Rice, the same mentioned above, was present and opposed the proceedings, protesting against the right of the inhabitants to hold the meeting, and again using menacing language towards them for participating in and countenancing it. But the selectmen called him to order and were allowed eventually to proceed to the business of the meeting. There were about 80 inhabitants present. Peter Lczart, a resident on the south side of the River St. John, was chosen for representative to the legislature. For the supposed purpose of intimidating the voters, Mr. Rice noted in writing the names and proceedings of all persons who voted. On the 25th day of the same September, 1831, it being on Sunday, I received information at my house that a military force was collecting at the Madawaska chapel on the north

side of the St. John river about 18 miles below me. On the same day orders were circulated among the inhabitants of the south side of the river and up as far as my house, directing the inhabitants to assemble the same day at the chapel aforesaid. I understood that one Muschurch, a French settler, carried these orders and made them known. On the same Sunday P. M. information was also brought that firearms to the number of 101 had already been collected at the dwelling house of one Simon Hebert, which is between my house and the chapel and about 15 miles below my house on the south side of the River St. John; said Hebert is a captain of the provincial militia of New Brunswick. The Governor of New Brunswick was also said to be present at the Hebert house. Reports brought to me on the evening of the same day and confirmed on the next morning informed me that the armed force at Hebert's house had made prisoners of and were detaining Mr. Dan. Savage and Mr. Wheelock, one of the selectmen and the town clerk aforementioned, on account of their participation in the proceedings of the town meetings already mentioned.* Each of these persons reside on the south side of the River St. John and it was the declared determination of these forces to take as prisoners all other persons who voted at said town meetings. About 12 o'clock or noon on the 25th day of September afore-

* (Letter from John Wheelock & Daniel Savage.)

To Roscoe G. Greene, Sec'y of State for Maine.—Sir: We commence this date at Capt. Simon Hebert's, Madawaska, Sept. 28, where we are held prisoners by the British authority for acting under a warrant from Wm. D. Williamson, Justice of the Peace for the County of Penobscot, in the State of Maine, to call a town meeting and act on town affairs agreeable to an act of the legislature of Maine incorporating this place into a town by the name of Madawaska, which warrant we have complied with according to law. The matter of our arrest is as follows. His Excellency, Sir. Arch. Campbell, Lieut. Gov. & commander in chief of the Province of N. B. arrived here on the 23 inst. with a company of the militia, the attorney Gen. of the Prov. & Mr. MacLaughlin and the sheriff of the county of York is said prov.—On the 24, he directed warrants to be issued against all those who acted at said meetings of giving in their votes, we the undersigned were arrested in this neighborhood on the 25th. On the 26th the sheriff & capt. Coombs with some militia ascended the river to Mr. Bakers to arrest those in that neighborhood, from thence to the St. Francis settlement excepted to return to-day—then we are to be sent to

said, I discovered about 20 canoes coming up the St. John, apparently in great haste, with one or more men in each. These landed just below my mills. I retreated to a distance and watched their movements. After examining my mills they proceeded to the other houses and searched them, also thence returned to my dwelling house, where they posted sentinels armed with muskets. While I remained in the woods, Mrs. Baker, my wife, came to me and informed me that Bart. Hunnewell, Dan. Been and several French settlers were held as prisoners by the soldiers then at my house—that Mr. Miller, the high sheriff of the Province of New Brunswick, had searched the house throughout and afterwards directed her to advise me to surrender myself to the British authorities, and that if I would go to Simon Hebert's house, where the Governor and the Attorney-General of the province then were, and give bail for my appearance at the courts at Fredericton, I should be released, that it was in vain for me to think of keeping out of the way, as they intended to keep up a garrison throughout the territory and force me into compliance to the British authorities."

Baker goes on to relate the things that befel him up to the time he escaped and went to Portland to make his deposition, which was taken as evidence for the boundary dispute. The two members of the unfortunate town government who fell into the hands of the British wrote to the Secretary of State of Maine, Sept. 28 of this year, re-

Fredericton jail—when the rest of our unfortunate countrymen arrive, we will inlist those names and numbers together with whatever information shall come to our knowledge. The families of them will be left in a deplorable situation (unless the gov.) will immediately relieve them. Our intention is to forward this by the way of Houlton as we pass through Woodstock. With high consideration.

Your humble servts.

JESSE WHEELOCK.
DAN. SAVAGE.

The sheriff returned last night with capt. Coombs and militia with about 30 French prisoners and 2 Americans, Barnabas Hunnewell and Dan Been—the rest of the Americans fled to the woods. We are now descending the river—stopped to-night about miles above Woodstock the 30th. N. B.—The French all gave bonds, some for trial and some for good behavior.

lating their misfortunes and among other things stating that the militia took about 30 of the French prisoners. These all gave bonds for appearance at Fredericton court.

The federal government was not so eager to proceed to extremes as were the State authorities, and so the trouble hung fire for some time. The subsequent military operations which with many strange happenings have gone down in history under the name of the Aroostook war, took place not along the shores of the St. John river, but along the Aroostook. The affair was finally settled by the Ashburton-Webster treaty in 1843. The line between Maine and Canada passed through the middle of the St. John river, thus cutting the Madawaska settlement in two.

The history of the boundary dispute comes into the history of the Madawaska settlement only by accident, but if it were not for this trouble and the investigation it made necessary, our knowledge of the early times in this part of the State would be much more obscure and legendary than it is. The occurrences have been related somewhat at length in order to show precisely the line taken by the French in the affair. It has been seen that the French were promised lands before leaving New Brunswick. This promise appears to have been kept. The land was surveyed and deeds given by the authority of the Province of New Brunswick. Later on a move was made to recruit militia among them, and though Mr. Deane says the Acadians objected to this, it is not necessary to allege that threats of force was used to make them join the militia, since one of their number had been appointed captain, and he the most important man in the settlement. When the American settlers came down to the Madawaska river to hold a town meeting, the inhabitants numbered nearly 2000 and the district was in a measure organized as a part of New Brunswick. There had been a provincial Justice of the Peace resident among them since 1797.

Baker's deposition is a significant document. It shows pretty well the political situation in Madawaska in the year 1831. The agitation for the town government was exclusively an American idea; the French apparently took no initiative in the matter. If the provincial government, seeing the importance and influence of Duperre in the settlement, began early to caress and flatter him, the Americans on their arrival in the country lost no time in attempting the same tactics with his half-brother. These two men exercised paramount influence in the settlement. In our days, they would be termed "bosses." Each party tried to gain the friendship of one of these men and so draw over the rank and file. The people at large were of course totally incapable of appreciating the merits of the controversy and had to take their cue from some leader. Such public opinion as there was before the advent of the Kennebec men would naturally be in favor of the Province of New Brunswick, if for no other reason, in default of another claimant. From that province they had received grants to their lands and such government as was exercised among them. Moreover, England had the advantage of possessing on the spot a force large enough to back up any claims her representatives might make. This was doubtless a convincing argument with the French, as it would be with any simple body of people so constituted. But there is no reason for making the hypothesis of fear to account for the action of the Acadians, for up to 1818 there was no other party in evidence.

In order to carry their point the Kennebec men went down to the French settlement; they assembled in the house of Lizotte, a man of influence, who would be able to collect several of his people. The 50 or more who assembled were undoubtedly Lizotte's friends and supporters. At this time the population of the district was not far from 2000; a large proportion of these were men old enough to vote. Yet after all only 50 came, and the party was so weak that the provincial authorities came into Lizotte's house and threatened him and his friends for

voting. These threats had so much influence that hardly any of the French voted. Evidently the arguments of Lizotte and his Kennebec friends were not very cogent.

The next meeting was practically a repetition of the first, though a strong bid for popular favor and votes had been made by the prospect of Lizotte's nomination to the State Legislature. Even with this dazzling prospect held out to the French the results were far from encouraging. Only 80 came to the meeting; it is not stated how many voted, but the proportion could not have been large or it would have been mentioned.

There is no evidence of a spontaneous outburst of American feeling among the French inhabitants; some were found to join the Kennebec men, as some can be found ready for almost any venture in a populous settlement. There was no adequate reason why the Acadians, knowing practically nothing of the State of Maine, having tasted no benefits from that commonwealth, should cease to let well enough alone, turn against the government in force among them, expose their families to possible exile and jeopardize the title to their lands, in order to espouse the cause of a small and turbulent group of strangers who had done little since entering the country except foment disturbance. There was absolutely nothing to gain and much to lose by such a procedure. Then the French cared not who got the territory; the only thing that concerned them was the title to their farms. They had no reason for allegiance to the State of Maine. They asked nothing except to be let alone and to cultivate their farms in peace.

After the meeting had been held and the militia chased the planners of it into the woods, and taken some French prisoners, we see that these prisoners made no difficulty about giving bonds to appear at the provincial court at Fredericton. From this time on to 1843, the Province of New Brunswick was practically left in control of the French settlement of Madawaska.

The state of society and education among the Madawaska French at this period is very well shown by Mr.

Jackson in his geological report for the year 1836.

"The whole tract between the Madawaska and this line (boundary), is settled by Acadians, and is known under the name of the Madawaska settlement. This district was incorporated as a town by the State of Maine, but difficulties having ensued as to the right of jurisdiction, it was agreed to leave the place in statu quo until the claims of the two countries should be adjusted; an injunction being placed, by mutual agreement, against cutting of timber upon the disputed territory. It is well known that Maine regards the usurpation by the British authorities as unjustifiable, her unoffending citizens having been seized and committed to prison on no other pretence than their endeavor to carry into effect the laws of the State to which they belonged, by calling a town meeting. The population of Madawaska settlement is estimated at 3000 souls, 900 of whom live above the Little Falls. Most of the settlers are descendants of the French neutrals or Acadians who were driven by British violence from their homes in N. S. These people first established themselves above Fredericton, and subsequently removed above the Grand Falls and effected a settlement. The Acadians are a very peculiar people, remarkable for the simplicity of their manners and their fidelity to their employers. Although they are said to be "sharp at a bargain," they are remarkably honest, industrious and respectful and are polite and hospitable to each other and to strangers. It is curious to observe how perfectly they have retained all their French peculiarities. The forms of their houses, decorations of their apartments, dress, modes of cookery etc. are exactly as they originally were in the land of their ancestors. They speak a kind of patois or corrupted French, but perfectly understand the modern language as spoken in Paris. But few persons can be found who understand or speak English and these are such as from the necessities of trade have learned a few words of the language. None of the women or children either understand or speak English. The Acadians are a cheerful, contented and happy people, social in their intercourse and never pass each other without a kind salutation. While they thus retain all the marked characteristics of the French peasantry, it is curious that they appear to know but little respecting the country from which they originated and but few of them have the least idea of its geographical situation. Thus we were asked when we spoke of France, if it was not separated from England by a river, or if it was near the coast of Nova Scotia and one of them inquired if Bethlehem where Christ was born was not a town in France. Since they have no schools and their knowledge is but traditional, it is not surprising that they should remain ignorant of geography and history. I can account for their understanding the pure French language by the circumstance that they are supplied with Catholic priests from the mother country, who of course speak to them in that tongue. Those who visit Madawaska must remember that no money passes current there but silver, for the people do not know how to read and will not take bank notes, for they have often been imposed upon since they are unable to distinguish between a \$5., 5 lb. or a 5 shilling note. As there are no taverns in this settlement every family the traveller calls on will furnish accommodations for which they expect a reasonable compensation; and he will always be sure of kind treatment, which is beyond price. I have been thus particular in speaking of the Acadian settlers of Madawaska, because little is generally known of their manners or customs, many people having the idea that they are demi-savages, because like the aboriginal inhabitants, they live principally by hunting."

Jackson — Report — 1836 — (p. 70 seq).

It may be interesting also to see what the Americans who lived in that vicinity thought of their Acadian and Canadian neighbors. On Oct. 2, 1843, the year of the Ashburton treaty, some inhabitants of that part of the country wrote to Gov. Kavanagh as follows: Maine Resolves.

"It is well known to you that the settlements on the American side of the St. John extend, on the margin of the river, continuously from Ft. Kent to the easterly line of the State, a distance of nearly 60 miles, and from the same point westwardly with some interruptions to Little Black river at its intersection with the St. John, a distance of 30 miles more. The whole settlement is separated from the other settlements in the State of Maine by an unbroken forest of from 30 to 60 miles in breadth. It is composed of Acadian and Canadian French, a few Irishmen and provincial Englishmen and here and there an American. The people are generally unacquainted with our laws and customs, unable to read or write, and but few understand our language. Their business intercourse has been wholly with New Brunswick and Canada—they have lived under British laws and are too ignorant to be at present capable of self-government."

From 1790-1843, the two countries wrangled over this territory, and the inhabitants went their neglected way, clearing and building, but able to do little to help themselves socially. Madawaska was incorporated as a town in 1831, but this action was abortive and no further incorporation took place until 1869, when the towns of Fort Kent, Frenchville, Grand Isle and Madawaska were formed. If an indictment is to be formulated against the social and educational backwardness of this part of the State, in justice it ought not to retroact beyond 1850. During the past half century the progress of Madawaska has been steady, conservative and, considering the many obstacles, creditable to its people. This knot of settlements is situated in the extreme north, far from the State centres, 300 miles from the seaboard, totally removed from American railroads in a remote part of a relatively

**Present
Condition.**

See appendix 7.

unprosperous State. It has had the further disadvantage of being cut in twain and half of it allotted to Canada. Racially and territorially it is today more Canadian than American, yet for internal improvements it has had to look to a commonwealth unable to help it much. It is almost exclusively a farming country; its main source of income the sale of agricultural products. The soil, though fertile, is by no means to be compared with that of Nova Scotia or the great Aroostook valley. In order to sell his products the Madawaska farmer has been compelled to convey them long miles by wagon or dispose of them at a ruinous loss to itinerant traders. The agricultural development of other parts of the State has worked him nothing but harm. The land itself has been overworked and fertilizers are beyond his purse. In bad years he has been driven to the money lender, and this temporary expedient, as always, has become a widely prevailing condition, sapping industry and driving off the energetic. Scores, nay hundreds of these farms, are loaded with the mortgage incubus, and held in precarious tenure. This state of things, though it has not resulted in starvation, has held the settlers in an ever tightening grip of poverty. The increase of population also has its disadvantages. The younger generation has taken up new concessions in the interior only to repeat the sorrowful experience of their fathers. Lumbering has given at certain seasons of year a number employment but worked great harm to the farming industry. All manufactured goods are luxuries on account of the cost of carriage. Across the river is a community in almost the same condition. Moreover, the Acadian has not the American energy and progressiveness, but even though he had, we could not argue much more for him than has been the result in the rural districts in other parts of the State.

Progress. In spite of obstacles the most discouraging, the Madawaska country during the past 50 years has accomplished much.

There are now in the district commonly called Mada-

waska, which includes all the country between Van Buren and St. Francis and some considerable inland settlements, nine churches, eight of these with resident clergymen, who also attend many missions without church edifices. Of course these are all Catholic. There is a college at Van Buren conducted by the Marist Fathers, with a corps of nine professors and one hundred students. In three places, Van Buren, Frenchville and Wallagras, are religious schools under charge of Good Shepherd, Rosary and Franciscan Sisters. The number of children of both sexes taught in these schools is 387. The State School Report for 1897, which paid special attention to the schools of North Eastern Maine, stated that there were at that time in the Madawaska country 118 schools with 3690 pupils. There is also an efficient training school at Fort Kent, where most of the students are of French descent. This training school provides for these schools a corps of teachers who understand not only pedagogy, but also the two languages and the temper of the people. The man who has done more for the cause of education in Madawaska than any other one man was the late Mr. Vetal Cyr, principal of this training school, who was himself an Acadian and a native of Madawaska.

Schools.

The building up of a school system which would supply a fair education to the children of these widely scattered settlements has been a work of great labor. It was begun when the boundary was decided, but the beginning was very feeble. "In 1866, 24 years after the Acadians had become a part of the State of Maine, the State Agent's report shows that there were but 7 schoolhouses in the whole territory, most of them quite small and illy constructed, and during that year but 20 schools were maintained, with an aggregate of 614 pupils, 322 of whom studied English. In 1871 the last year during which the schools were maintained under this plan (the whole district under one agent), the number of schools had increased to 47, two of which, i. e. those at Fort Kent and Frenchville respectively, were denominated high schools."

The section was then divided off into organized districts. "In 1876, four years after the organization of this system, in 11 towns and plantations were maintained 83 schools, attended by 2075 children. There were but 42 schoolhouses in these towns and plantations; 35 of these were of the most primitive character, and not more than 3 were in condition fit for the accommodation of schools in other than the warmer months of the year."

In 1877 the State provided for the erection of two normal schools. From the one at Fort Kent has grown up the Madawaska Training School.

"Since the establishing of the Training School at Fort Kent, a greatly increased interest in the education of the young, especially in the English language, has been developed. The clergymen of the various parishes have lent their aid to this good work and a noticeable improvement has been made from year to year."

Religion.

The Acadians were and are a profoundly religious people. Certain historians have stated that they were superstitious, but those who know them state that their faith is marked by the common sense of which Mr. Deane spoke. Were their religion not of the most solid character, there would have resulted in their long wanderings and life in the woods a great loss of faith and morality. In point of fact, the high standard of morality so characteristic of the Acadian in his native shores is equally characteristic of him today in Madawaska. For many years after their arrival in the upper St. John, they had no resident clergyman among them. Such religious ministrations as they received were given by a hard worked missionary who had to come hundreds of miles to this remote district. His work was necessarily confined to the essentials. In 1794 a priest was stationed at St. Basil, but since the farms stretched for miles up and down the river, any adequate attendance was beyond the power of one man. There was no church on the American side of the St. John until about 1830. Mr. Davies' report of 1828 states that some families had settled at a place called

Chateauqua, near Frenchville, and had set about building a church, but of this nothing is known.

In 1838 there were two churches, one in Van Buren (St. Bruno), and the other at Van Buren (St. Luce). During the next decade the settlements began to be more organized and other churches rose. In a country of such magnificent distances, there was competition naturally about the location of these edifices; each man wanted one near his house. Some differences arose on this head, noticeably in the case of the church of Mount Carmel, whose situation between Grand Isle and St. David gave rise to many dissensions, and it was removed. It may be that this is the church mentioned by Mr. Davies as being built in 1828 at a place called Chataucoin. At all events there is now no sign of church or churchyard except the little God's Acre with its lonely cross that arrests the eye of the traveller along the road between Grand Isle and St. David. The Mount Carmel church was replaced by one at Grand Isle, which is still in use and which was built some time posterior to 1858. The materials for this church were taken from a structure erected by the people of Van Buren some six miles above the town of that name, where the location is marked by an iron cross. These various changes were not accomplished without some heart-burnings, but parish lines were finally settled so as to be mutually satisfactory. The present church of St. David was erected about this time. The church at St. Francis is evidently of early date but its date is not precisely known.

In later days the spread of population inland has given rise to new parishes and new churches. Two modern structures have been built in Wallagras, some seven miles from Fort Kent, in the hills and near Eagle Lake, and at St. Agatha, on the shores of Grand Lake, a dozen miles from the St. John River. These places are not properly within the limits of the older communities of Madawaska and are largely composed of Canadian people. Most of the churches in this region

are surprisingly well built and are a matter of much local pride.

Diocese of
Portland,
1855.

By environment and circumstances the ecclesiastical history of Madawaska has been more Canadian than American. At the time the Acadians came the Catholic Church in New England was in its infancy. It was not until 1855 that the Diocese of Portland was established; it embraced the two states of Maine and New Hampshire, a large territory with few workers. The Acadian settlement on the Canadian frontier was separated from the rest of Maine by hundreds of miles of trackless forest and there was not an adequate force of priests to supply the wants of the populous coast cities. Hence for years this Northern district was administered by priests from Canada who worked with zeal and devotion there. when circumstances permitted it this condition was changed. The second Bishop of Portland, Bishop Healy paid great attention to these Northern missions and established schools and religious facilities in them.

Following is a list of the early missionaries of Madawaska :

Leclaire, curé de l'Isle Verte, Co. Temiscouata,	1786-1790
Paquet " " "	1791-1795
Ciquard, Sulpician, residing St. Basil and at	1794-1798
Amiot, curé De St. Andre de Kamouraska .	1799
Vazina " " .	1800-1802
Dorval " " .	1803-1804
Hott, resident at St. Basil . . .	1804-1806
Amiot returns cure St. Andre . . .	1807-1808
Kelly, resident at St. Basil . . .	1808-1810
Raby, " " .	1810-1813 (Oct).
Marcoux, " " .	(Nov.) 1813-1818 (Aug).
Lagarde, " " .	(Sept.) 1818-1821 (Aug).
Ringuette " " .	(Nov.) 1821-1826 (Aug).
Sirois " " .	(Oct.) 1826-1831 (Aug).
Mercier " " .	(Oct.) 1831-1835 (Sept).
Langevin " " .	(Oct.) 1835-1857 (Apr)

After this date Madawaska began to divide off into parishes. Indeed St. Bruno had already been formed into a separate parish in 1838, having had a church for some years before that time, but attended from St. Basil. St. Luce (Frenchville) had for its first resident priest Rev. H. Dionne who came in Aug. 1843. The church had been built for some years, from 1837 or 38. The district on the Canadian side of the St. John is now divided into 16 missions having churches and is attended by 11 priests.

Summary.

When one reads the history of Acadia from the first venture in 1604, remarks the elements that went to form

this settlement, its isolation, its wars, the fact that the land changed hands 9 times in a century, that the expatriates of 1755 left there their all, that the founders of Madawaska wandered for nearly 40 years, in the wilderness ere they saw their promised land, and entering in found it a bleak forest, he will understand something of the obstacles that beset this people in their march of progress. Other colonies had a mother country to look to; this had none. Other pioneers had struck into the untrodden wilds, but it was with the implements of husbandry and building, with somewhere a basis of supplies. These people came out of the woods, pariahs, poorer than the aborigines. To further increase their difficulties, they settled in a spot which was to become the bone of contention between two governments for more than 30 years. They suffered all the evils of a disputed jurisdiction, and finally saw their little community cut in two by an international boundary line. They who lived on the American side of the St. John had all the disadvantages of Canadians with none of their blessings, few as these were. Their American territorial position was but nominal. For the rest of the State they were as the Indians. The year of grace 1843, which saw the settlement of the boundary question and Maine's 23d birthday, found the Madawaska Acadians after an occupation of 53 years a vast struggling unorganized frontier settlement, without government, without schools, isolated from the rest of the State territorially by an impassible forest nearly 100 miles in width, isolated socially by an alien tongue, a despised religion and outlandish customs, without a tendril stretching out to them from the widening branches of American national life.

Not a town along the St. John was incorporated until three years after the close of the Civil War. Then the organization was mostly on paper and embraced but four places, Madawaska, Grand Isle, Frenchville and Ft. Kent. Van Buren was not incorporated until 1881, St. Agatha and Wallagras are still plantations. From one point of view the wanderings of the Acadians and the final peace

at Madawaska is certainly romantic, but practically their life was and to an extent still is hard and crude beyond measure. Not an axe or a spade could reach Madawaska except across the line from Canada or by a long and costly journey from the United States. The smallest manufactured article was a luxury of price. There were no stores at first; there was no money if traders came into the district. The inhabitants were thrown back upon their own industry and ingenuity. It was fortunate for the Acadians that their ancestors had gone through this experience before, and understood how to live under the circumstances. They were their own blacksmiths, and outfitters. Maidens wore their kirtles of homespun until lately in this part of the country because they could get nothing else. It is only lately that the homespun has ceased to be the common material for clothes; it is still far from a rarity, especially in the back districts.

It is pretty well settled that a man cannot pull himself up by his bootstraps, but for a long time it seemed that this was the only chance of progress for the Madawaska people. Maine knew nothing about them; their brethren in Canada could do little to aid them; money was scarce and there was no visible way of getting it. The Madawaska farmer had but one source of income, farming products, but the market was small and supplied by others who were on the seaboard or the railroad. It is to be kept in mind that there was no American railroad within a hundred miles of Madawaska in the early half of the last century; that the river was of no assistance for transportation, since the head of navigation was more than 200 miles below. Enterprise would not come to a place so situated, roads were poor; the people driven to a hand to mouth existence always a little this side of actual want. Development could come only from the outside. Most of the people could not read or write, because there was no one to teach them. The section had to wait for educational advantages until the rest of the State was served. Population increased apace, new fields were cleared, the

boundaries of the settlements were enlarged, but life and progress in them all was at the same dead level, with little hope of improvement. These statements, universally true of the entire Madawaska country 50 years ago, are still true of the inland districts today. Few New England or even Maine people understand how vast and undeveloped the State still is.

There is another important item to be considered in relation to the progress of these settlements. The winters are long and severe, snow covers the ground to the depth of 6 to 12 feet for six months of the year, paralyzing communication, closing schools and wrapping the whole country in industrial sleep.

Succeeding years have developed other parts of the State, particularly the wide Aroostook valley, intersected it with lines of railroads, putting it in touch with the world markets, until its crops of grain and potatoes are become a marvel. All this prosperity has not touched the valley of the St. John, on the Canadian frontier, isolated by land and water from the trade marts. There has been scarce enough for the present population when the boys grew up and looked out for some chance to carve out a livelihood, they saw but one hope, the forest. To the forest they have gone with their small families, taken up new concessions, built log cabins, and attacked the forest with fire and axe, planting between the tree stumps and the following year burning down these stumps and making the land ready for the plough. One may see this work going on at any time. It is a work that requires stout hearts, good sinews and tireless industry, but the young men of Madawaska have taken up the burden cheerfully. They are working for the future. It is no small thing to leave the home settlements with the dearly gained improvements of years, and take up life in the lonely forest far from church and school, but the indispensable daily bread had to be gained and the historians of the future will praise these latter day pioneers.

Isolation.

Thus it is in this Northern region that the 17th century elbows the twentieth, and while the people of the older settlements without any industrial prosperity to encourage them are striving for education and the comforts of life, their sons, instead of enjoying what has been earned by their fathers, have been compelled by poverty to repeat the sorrowful history of their ancestors.

Modern Madawaska comprises six principal communities, each scattered over a wide range of territory, and all bordering on the River St. John. These are Van Buren, Grand Isle, St. David (Madawaska), Frenchville, Ft. Kent and St. Francis. These communities are better known by the names of their churches than by their corporate ones. Van Buren is St. Bruno; Frenchville, St. Luce; Ft. Kent, St. Louis. There are also two other communities some miles back in the lake country, St. Agatha, some 12 miles from the St. John, and Wallagras, eight miles from Ft. Kent. On the opposite side of the river, in the province of New Brunswick a like line of settlements extends from Grand Falls to Connor Station. St. Leonard's is opposite Van Buren, St. Ann's nearly the same to Grand Isle, St. Basil and Edmonston some four miles apart and across from St. David. St. Hilaire pairs off with Frenchville and Clair with Ft. Kent, while Connor Station is some six miles below St. Francis. All these places mentioned are at intervals in a valley not quite 100 miles in extent. They are so near together that the wayfarer could shape his course by their church spires and were it proper a signal could be sent by the church bells to and fro across the St. John all the way from Van Buren to St. Francis.

The grouping of houses into villages, so marked a characteristic of some rural communities, is hardly the rule here. The farms were laid out with so much river bank allotted to each and stretching far inland. Van Buren, Ft. Kent and Frenchville form more or less compact towns, but the other places are composed of widely scattered farms. The cross roads store is little in evi-

dence and in fact stores of any kind are rare except in the three places above mentioned. It can be said with considerable truth that the entire valley is a more or less continuous settlement. The buildings are exclusively of wood, the houses small as a rule, and the barns large. Bricks are costly and the chimney is almost invariably composed of sections of stove pipe. The buildings in this part of the country are not overburdened with paint and lack the trim neatness characteristic of more fortunate communities. This, however, only lends an added picturesqueness to the whole prospect and harmonizes well with the rugged and primitive background of the woods and hills.

The valley of the upper St. John affords views of surpassing beauty, and the traveller who pauses on one of the elevated places along the road, from which he can discern for miles up and down this magnificent river with its banks festooned with little farms or clusters of houses surmounted by the tapering white church spire, the perspective heightened by the frowning hills and the interminable billows of forest beyond, will find it coming back to him many a year after.

Appendix.

1

"Quelques de ses (D'Aulnay) colons, attirés comme LaTour, par les avantages qu'offre le port de la rivière S. Jean, étaient venus s'y établir. Ils formaient en 1755, une petite colonie de 150 à 200 âmes, protégée par le fort Menagouèche, ou le gouvernement du Canada entretenait une garrison. À la suite des devastations de 1775 la petite colonie de la rivière S. Jean fut détruite ou dispersée."—Casgrain, Pel. p. 316.

2

"Il y a, aux environs du village, onze familles acadiennes, celles-là mêmes que Votre Grandeur a eu la bonté de confirmer à Sainte-Anne. Les Acadiens qui sont restés parmi les Anglais sont encore très fervents, leur seul défaut est un grand entêtement, soit pour rester chacun dans son canton et ne vouloir point se réunir, soit pour avoir des terres aux mêmes conditions qu'ils les avaient autrefois, ne relevant que du roi. C'est ce que les Anglais, qui les détestent, leur ont reproché. Le gouvernement ne veut point les concéder à cette condition, cependant on a exigé un serment de fidélité; ils sont très difficiles à desservir, car ils restent chacun dans des cantons séparés, l'été, sur les bords de la mer, à la pêche, l'hiver, dans les bois, à la chasse."—Casgrain, Pel. p. 241.

3

"L'établissement de la rivière Saint-Jean était devenu un enfer inhabitable pour le petit nombre d'Acadiens restés sur leurs terres. Les uns allèrent rejoindre les dépossédés qui venaient de fonder la colonie de Madawaska."—Casgrain, Pel. p. 368.

4

"En 1784, les dépossédés de 1755 fixés à la rivière Saint-Jean, furent nouveau dépossédés au profit des loyalistes américains et des soldats congédiés Ces malheureuses familles, impuissantes contre la force, n'eurent plus qu'à reprendre le chemin des forests. Elles remonterent la rivière Jean, à trente lieues de toute habitation, et ouvrirent, la hache à la main, les plateaux de Madawaska."—Casgrain, Pel. p. 239.

5

A MONSIEUR,

Monseigneur L'Illustrissime et Révérendissime

Jean François Hubert, Evêque de Québec etc.

Monseigneur :

Les habitants de Madawaska, Comté de York, province de Nouveau Brunswick, sur la rivière Saint-Jean, vos très soumis enfans en Dieu, après avoir été informés de la défense de ne bâtir aucune église ni chapelle sans avoir préalablement obtenu la permission de Votre Grandeur, prennent la respectueuse liberté d'exposer humblement à vos yeux les raisons qu'ils croient justes et véritables de l'obtenir.

Les soussignés supplians n'ont Monseigneur, dans cet endroit aucune Eglise ni chapelle convenable pour célébrer l'Office divin pendant le temps de la mission; la nécessité a obligé de la faire jusqu'à présent dans une pauvre cabane d'écorce, vu que la pauvreté et misère du petit nombre des habitants résidens en cet endroit, dont le plus vieux ne peut compter que sept ans de l'établissement, ne

permettoit pas de faire autrement. Mais aujourd'hui que le nombre des habitants se multiplie par la bonté du terroir qui attire les étrangers, et qu'il y a espérance que l'établissement se perpétuera. La première vue et le premier dessein des dits supplians est de bâtir en bois une chapelle convenable et décente proportionnement aux facultés et nombre des habitants qui ne peut que se multiplier. Car pour bâtir en pierre il seroit impossible d'en trouver suffisamment dans ces lieux. Ainsi après avoir exposé leur besoin, unanimes entre eux et les sauvages qui charmés du dessein des françois ont promis de contribuer au déboursement nécessaire pour cette bâtisse, ils supplient très humblement Votre Grandeur de vouloir bien approuver leur entreprise, de leur accorder votre agrément et votre consentement afin de pouvoir travailler au plutôt. Pleinement convaincus et assurés de l'obtention de votre approbation, ils ont avant le départ des sauvages pour prévenir toutes difficultés, fait avec eux les conventions nécessaires, élus les Syndics pour conduire l'ouvrage, et ont tous promis et promettent, par ces présents, après qu'ils auront reçus les avis que Votre Grandeur voudra bien leur donner, travailler paisiblement à exécuter le dessein projeté afin de mériter votre protection et rendre leur nouvel Etablissement digne de votre souvenir. Les soussignés ne connoissent aucun titulaire ou patron de leur endroit, vous supplient humblement, Monseigneur, qu'en leur permettant de bâtir une chapelle il vous plaise leur accorder un titulaire pour protecteur de leur nouvel établissement et ne cesseront, vos très humbles supplians, d'élever leurs faibles prières au ciel pour la conservation de votre très illustre personne si nécessaire pour le bien des fidèles et en particulier des soussignés qui croient, Monseigneur, les plus honorés d'être mis au nombre de vos plus respectueux et plus soumis enfans en Dieu.

Sept habitants du dit lieu n'ont pu signer étant absents, mais ont temoigné avant leur départ approuver ce que seroit fait par l'assemblée
Madawaska, 23 juillet, 1792. J. H. PAQUET, l're misse.

6

"The first grant of land was made to Joseph Muzerol and 51 other French settlers in the month of Oct. 1790, by Sir Thos. Carleton then lieut.-gov. of N. B. The land thus granted lay at intervals between the Verde (Green) R. and Madawaska R. which are about 9 miles apart, and on both sides of the St. John. That grant comprises 51 several lots or plats of land sufficiently large for a homestead for each settler. The second grant was to Joseph Soucier and others, in Aug. 1794, by the same Carleton, and contained 5235 acres lying below Green R. These and the one made to Simon Herbert in 1825 of 25 acres opposite to and along the Madawaska, were the only grants on this side of the St. John."

Coolidge & Mansfield, N. E. also Burelle's report in Boun. pap.

7

(Deed to land in St. Luce & St. Bruno-Rev. J. B. Sirois to Mgr. Panet.)

Know all men by these presents that the Revd Jean Elie Sirois of the parish of Madawaska in the County of Carleton and province of New Brunswick, for and in consideration of the money paid before the sealing and delivery of these presents the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged and himself therewith fully satisfied paid and contented have granted, bargained & sold, and by these presents do grant bargain and sell unto the Most Reverend Bernard, Lord Bishop of Quebec, in the province of Lower Canada, his successors or assigns, all that certain piece or parcel of land and premises situated in the said

parish of Madawaska, county of Carleton and province of New Brunswick and in that part of the said parish commonly called St. Luce on the southwesterly side of the river St. John measuring in front twenty rods bounded on the upper side by a lot of land in possession of Fernain Thibodeau and on the lower side by Benjamin Boucher and containing the usual number of acres in proportion of the said front or width. Also and on the same condition all that certain piece or parcel of land situated lying and being in the lower part of the said parish of Madawaska county and province aforesaid, and commonly known by the name of St. Bruno, measuring in front or breadth thirty rods on the southwesterly side of the river St. John, bounded in the lower side by Souprain Grace and on the upper side by the said Glois Thibodeau and containing one hundred acres by the same more or less, together with all and singular the improvements, profits privileges appurtenances and hereditaments to whatsoever to the same belonging or in any wise appertaining and also all the estate right title interest dower title of dower property claim challenge or demand whatsoever of him the said Revd. Jean Elie Sirois of and in and to the same and evert part and parcel of land above described and premises with the appurtenances unto him the Bernard Panet Lord Bishop of the Quebec his successors or assign forever.—In witness whereof the said Revd Jean Elie Sirois has hereunto set his hand and seal at Madawaska aforesaid the twenty second day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty eight and in the fifth year of His Majesty's Reign and in presence of

Ant. Lagevin Ptre
Francis Rice

J. E. SIROIS, *Ptre.*

8

Following is a table of statistics of the principal places in Madawaska. These are far from being exclusively Acadian settlements. The Acadians and Canadians are now so intermarried that any accurate statistics about them are all but impossible, and there are now many people of American parentage, of other races, scattered through the section, but the places were first settled by Acadians and the most common names among the people point to the same source.

NOTE	From Houlton.	Incor.	Pop. 1900.	Valuation 1900.
Van Buren	75	1881	1878	\$229,815
Grand Isle.....	90	1869	1104	132,730
St. David.....	100	1869	1698	196,895
Frenchville.....	110	1869	1316	115,048
Fort Kent.....	126	1869	2528	195,163
St. Francis.....	145	—	568	44,779
St. Agatha.....	115	(org) 1899	1396	89,346
Wallagras	110	—	784	41,361

There are also some plantations in the interior of the

country principally settled by the French, and comprised within the parish limits of the above mentioned places.

Connor.....	60	(org) 1877	453	53,327
Cyr.....	70		502	49,454
Eagle Lake ...	100	" 1856	406	30,648
Hamlin	70		534	79,813
New Canada.....	119	" 1881	419	33,927
Winterville....	92	" 1884	124	

It may be interesting to state that the parochial returns of 1900 from the eight Madawaska parishes foot up to a round 14,000.

NEW ENGLAND CATHOLIC HISTORICAL
SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS.

No. 4.

Pilgrim, Puritan and Papist
in Massachusetts.

BY
HELENA NORDHOFF GARGAN.

READ AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, JUNE 5, 1902.

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PILGRIM, PURITAN AND PAPIST IN MASSACHUSETTS.

BY HELENA NORDHOFF GARGAN.

Read at the Meeting of The New England Catholic Historical Society,
June 5, 1902.

To thoroughly understand the great movement Westward, which led to the colonization of Massachusetts, let us go back 300 years and look into the condition of affairs in Europe in general and England in particular.

The end of the Sixteenth and the beginning of the Seventeenth Century was an age of ceaseless conflict in all branches of human knowledge: in politics, in science, in philosophy and in religion, brought about by the classical "Awakening," which had produced a Raphael, a Michael Angelo, a Savonarola, a Galilei, a Luther and an Erasmus. We must eliminate from our minds a great many ideas and opinions, which in our time are the universal axioms of our daily life, eliminate the existence of a great many things, which we now consider absolute necessities, and which were not even dreamt of in the days of yore.

It was, according to Dr. Martyn Dexter, 190 years before a daily paper was started in London.

One hundred and sixty years before the streets were lit in London.

Two hundred and nineteen years before the first ship crossed the Atlantic under steam.

Two hundred and twenty-nine years before the whistle of the first locomotive was heard.

Two hundred and forty-four years before the first telegraph was put in operation.

Two hundred and fifty-eight years before the first telegram went from the Old World to the New, thus fulfilling Shakes-

peare's dream, that "Puck would put a girdle around the earth in forty minutes."

Two hundred and seventy seven years before the still more marvellous telephone, and two hundred and seventy-eight years before the phonograph, most wonderful invention of all.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth the religious fermentation came to an open outbreak. A number of dissenters, who had left under Queen Mary, returned, hoping that they might prevail upon Elizabeth to introduce a type of so-called "reformed religious service," that they had seen in Germany and Switzerland. But the Queen, being a lover of ceremonial, impressed it upon her people. Strict laws were enforced against the Dissenters, who had been nicknamed Puritans, and when, in 1593, Puritanism was declared an offence against the statute law, a body of Puritans, mostly from London, left their country for Holland and established the first "Exiled Church at Amsterdam."

Those remaining at home became restive under King James I.'s growing despotism, as shown at the Hampton Court Conference with the Puritan divines in 1604, and with such able leaders as Clyfton, Brewster and Smith, all Cambridge University men and stanch upholders of the "Holy Discipline," separated openly from the Established Church—therefore Separatists—and worshipped in their own way.

This is the beginning of the Pilgrim movement, which originated in the country districts of Nottinghamshire, among people, who, like all the English peasants of those days, must have been on a rather low intellectual level.

We know that neither Shakespeare's father nor his mother could either read or write. The great dramatist has given us specimens of the peasantry of his day, studies from actual life, as all his characters were, such as Francis Flute, the bellows-mender; Nick Bottom, the weaver; Tom Snout, the tinker, etc., all in "Mid-summer Night's Dream," and these seem to have been the most learned of them, for they could combine together and act a play.

By what possible process, then, could such men as these rise to the intellectual level of the "Holy Discipline?" The reason is given above: the influence—whether for good or bad—of a stronger mind over the weaker one.

As Oxford in the Nineteenth Century, so was Cambridge in the Sixteenth, the hotbed of religious controversy, and it was here that, under the reign of Queen Elizabeth and by the "Right of Private Judgment in the Interpretation of the Bible," a plan for an organization of civil and religious government was worked out, called the "Holy Discipline," which was based on passages in the New Testament, notably the following:

1 Corinthians, xi., 28 (Geneva Version). "And God hath ordained some in the Church, as, first, Apostles; secondly, Prophets; thirdly, Teachers, then them that do miracles, after that the gifts of healing, helpers, governors, diversity of tongues."

1 Timothy, v., 17. "Let the Elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in the word and doctrine."

With these Biblical passages as a guide, the ministry of their Church comprised: the Pastor, who administered to the spiritual wants of the flock; the Teacher, who helped the pastor expound the "Word"; the Elders, who looked after discipline and government; the Deacons, who attended to the poor, and with the help of the "Widows," nursed the sick.

Thomas Cartwright, professor of divinity at Cambridge (1574) is the originator of this "Holy Discipline," which was rapidly promulgated in the country districts by his pupils: Clyfton, the pastor of the church at Babworth, near Scrooby; Robinson, his assistant or teacher in the same parish, and Brewster, an elder of the Church and postmaster at Scrooby.

The "Holy Discipline" was a direct blow against the Queen's supremacy, as in all Church matters a "Presbytery of Elders" were to decide. What wonder, then that the Bishops of the Established Church oppressed and persecuted the Separatists

in every conceivable manner, so that these peasants at last resolved to leave England and settle in a country where religious freedom was allowed.

After several unsuccessful attempts, so graphically described in Bradford's manuscript, a party of Scrooby people landed in Amsterdam in 1607, where some years before, as we have seen, the first London Congregation had settled, and where a few years later the neighboring Nottinghamshire Congregation of Gainsborough had established the "Second Exiled Church."

The conditions in the London Congregation or Ancient Church at Amsterdam were so scandalous that Robinson and Brewster, the leaders of the Scrooby Pilgrims, resolved to move once more and settle in the quiet university town of Leyden. Had they been less sincere and earnest in their desire to live according to their lights, they might have remained in a city, where it was comparatively easy to make a livelihood, and formed a third exiled church; but they disregarded all worldly advantages, that they might avoid the "moral pollution so rampant in the Ancient Church."

Edward Arber, the great Protestant authority on the Pilgrim movement, says in speaking of this Ancient Church: "The history of this Society is nothing but a tissue of folly, wrong-headedness and violence, of hypocrisy, wrangling and immorality, so that its members became quite odious to the inhabitants of Amsterdam."

During their eleven years at Leyden, the Pilgrims found the conditions of life very hard, perhaps the harder because they came as and had remained an organized community, dreading absorption into a foreign nation.

The growing unrest in all Europe, the fact that their children became contaminated with the licentious life at the university to which students from every country in Europe flocked, the outbreak of a war in Germany in 1618, which was to last thirty long years and which drew adventurers from North, South, East and West into the Imperial and Anti-Imperial Armies, caused the Pilgrims, who had indeed well earned this name, to

break up for the third time and settle somewhere outside of, yet under the protection of England.

Having at last, after long continued efforts procured a patent or grant of land from the London Company of Virginia, and having closed a hard bargain with certain merchant adventurers of London, who supplied to some limited extent the means necessary for their emigration and settlement, the Leyden Congregation were prepared in the summer of 1620 to send forth the first pilgrims from their community across the ocean. Under the leadership of Elder Brewster, they left Delft-Haven in the *Speedwell* for Southampton, where the larger ship, the *Mayflower*, was awaiting them with their fellow passengers: partly laborers employed by the merchants, partly "Englishmen like-minded with themselves." Both ships, with 120 passengers on board put to sea, but before long, the *Speedwell* proved so leaky that it was deemed best to return for repairs. These made, they started again, but "when a hundred leagues beyond Land's End" the master of the *Speedwell* declared her in imminent danger of sinking, so that both ships again put about. On reaching Plymouth Harbor, it was decided to abandon the smaller vessel so that at last on September 6 (Old Style), the *Mayflower* alone with 102 passengers left Plymouth and nine weeks later, November 9 (Old Style), sighted the shores of Cape Cod. The reason why they landed here and not at "some point about Hudson's River" as their patent provided for, is a disputed question to this day; however, be that as it may, they finally landed in a quiet harbor, where Provincetown lies today, but not finding any attractions for a permanent settlement, an exploring party was sent out, and on December 16 (Old Style), the *Mayflower* anchored near the famous "Plymouth Rock."

By common consent Carver had been chosen Governor of the Colony, and the work of settling began at once. Before landing, however, they had unanimously subscribed the following compact: "In the Name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the grace of God of Great Britain and Ireland,

Defender of the faith, etc., having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith and in honor of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern part of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic for our better ordering and preservation and for the furthering of the ends aforesaid, and by virtue thereof to exact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances and acts, constitutions and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

Having settled upon land, from which they might be expelled at any moment, as it did not belong to the Virginia Company, the Pilgrims sent word by the Mayflower in the early spring of 1621 to their friends in London, who obtained from the "Council for New England" (the corporation into which the North Virginia Branch of the London Company had been transformed) a new patent, which allowed 100 acres of land to every colonist gone and to go to New England, at a yearly rent of two shillings an acre after seven years. It granted 1,500 acres for public uses, and liberty to "hawk, fish and fowl" to "truck, trade and traffic with the savages," "to establish such laws and ordinances as are for their better government, and the same by such officer or officers, as they shall by most voices elect and choose, to put in execution, and to encounter, expulse, repel and resist by force of arms all intruders."

In the preamble the patent of the New England Company says: "We have been further given certainly to know, that within these late years there hath by God's visitation reigned a wonderful plague, together with many horrible slaughters and murders committed among the savages and brutish people there, heretofore inhabiting in a manner to the utter destruction, devastation, and depopulation of that whole territory, so that there is not left for many leagues together in a manner any that doe claime or challenge any kind of interests therein,

nor any other superior lord or soveraigne to make claime thereunto, whereby we, in our judgment are persuaded and satisfied, that the appointed time is come, in which Almighty God in His great goodness and bountie towards us and our people, has thought fit and determined, that those large and goodly territories, deserted as it were by their natural inhabitants, should be possessed and enjoyed by such of our subjects and people as heretofore have and hereafter shall by his mercie and favour, and by his powerfull arme, be directed and conducted thither."

In other words, the actual settlement of New England in 1620 and 1630 was directly encouraged for the reason, that the Indians of New England were known to be almost extinct.

These Indians had been killed partly by the plague, partly by war with the Mohawks and other tribes.

Being now on lawful ground, they continued their work with renewed ardor and named the settlement New Plymouth, in honor of Plymouth in Old England, the last town they left in their native land, and "where they had received many kindnesses from some Christians there." Later the name Plymouth became appropriated to the town and New Plymouth to the Colony.

The undertaking was full of hardships and vicissitudes from the beginning. Poor food, a rigorous climate, very soon told upon them, and death made terrible inroads into their numbers, Governor Carver among them in the spring of 1621. Bradford was elected as his successor and remained at the helm almost without interruption for thirty-seven years.

In spite of all their efforts and the increased number of settlers who arrived with each incoming vessel: the *Mayflower*, the *Fortune*, the *Ann*, and the *Little James*, the Colony did not prosper. The debt due the home Company had grown to £1,400 in 1625, and "the creditors had lost confidence in the enterprise."

In 1627 a new agreement was concluded with the London Company for the purchase of all their rights and interests in the plantation for the sum of £1,800. This proved a most

successful venture and soon relieved the community from debt, and established a permanent basis of wealth and prosperity. Up to the year 1636 the pilgrims had according to Mr. Baylies adopted no constitution or government, except the simple compact, which was signed in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, November, 1620, and which recognized no principle but that of allegiance to the King and the controlling power of the majority of the people in the transactions of the Colony. Crimes or punishments were neither declared nor defined; a few laws only and such as were of the most urgent necessity were established in 1633; the Church with their pastor and elders reigning supreme and governing by the moral law of Moses and the New Testament.

In 1636, however, when Winslow was chosen governor, a body of laws was adopted, called "The General Fundamentals," which was in other words "the Plymouth Declaration of Rights," Article 2 of which reads as follows:

"And for the well-governing of this Colony, it is ordered, that there be a free election annually of governor, deputy governor and seven assistants by the vote of the freemen of this Corporation, to rule and govern the plantation within the limits of this Corporation."

The right to vote was confined to the freemen, and to become a freeman it was necessary to be a member of the church.

In 1639, when William Bradford was again chosen governor, the towns in Plymouth Colony for the first time sent deputies for legislation. Hitherto the governor and his assistants were virtually the representatives of the people. They thus created a legislature or a general court.

In the spring of 1643 a confederacy "for amity, offence and defence, mutual advice and assistance upon all necessary occasions" was entered into between the Colonies of Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven on one side and Massachusetts Colony on the other.

The articles of the "United Colonies of New England" were signed in Boston, and some of the reasons assigned for this union

were: The vicinity of the Dutch, Swiss and French, the hostile disposition of the neighboring Indians, the impossibility of obtaining aid from England in any emergency, and last but not least, "the alliance already formed between the Colonies by the sacred ties of religion."

This confederation of the New England Colonies for mutual defence foreshadowed and was the forerunner of the Colonial Congress and later the Continental Congress.

The Commissioners of Massachusetts, as representing the most powerful Colony of the alliance, claimed and obtained an honorary precedence, and this is the first step of the final merging of the "Old Colony of Plymouth into Massachusetts Colony, which actually took place in 1692, when the primitive colonial charter and government were abrogated.

A word about the various Protestant denominations in the Seventeenth Century may not be out of order here before briefly reviewing some incidents in the history of Massachusetts Bay Colony, or the "Puritan Commonwealth."

Up to the reign of James I. the difference between the religious sects was not clearly defined; Brownists, Independents, Separatists, Puritans, etc., we come into contact with on almost every page of English history.

Now, however, English Protestantism divided itself into three distinct classes:

1. The Conformist or High Ritualist, who adopted all rites and ceremonies retained by the Anglican Church. To this class belonged the King and the church authorities, who exercised their power with remorseless vigor.

2. The Nonconformist or Puritan, who, while refusing conformity with the ceremonies, adhered to the same body and defended its creed, discipline and polity—(but once in New England, the Puritan changed his views considerably). In England they had control of the House of Commons and were strong in literary and mercantile circles as well as with the gentry and the middle classes generally. A natural enmity existed between the Conformist and the Puritan—(not so much religious

as political—for power of control between the King and the Commons.)

3. The Separatist or the Pilgrim Leyden Church, who denied that the State church was a Christian body, or that its ministrations and ordinances were of any validity. They claimed their own little congregations to be the only really Christian churches, as they held to owe no ecclesiastical obedience to any person, council or authority between the majority of the members and the Divine Head. Eleven years in Holland, however tended to modify these opinions materially.

While Plymouth Colony was still struggling other attempts at settlement on the New England coast were made, notably that of Thomas Weston, a London merchant, who came over in 1622 with seventy adventurers, mostly rabble from the London streets, settled at Wessagusett, twenty-five miles north of Plymouth, but returned to England the following year after considerable trouble with the Indians. In 1625 Captain Wollaston with a gang of indentured white servants established himself at the site of the present town of Quincy, but very soon abandoned it for Virginia.

This abandoned site was taken possession of and called Merrymount by Thomas Morton and his thirty followers, who had come over for the purpose of laying the foundation for a Royalist Episcopal settlement in Massachusetts Bay. Merrymount, however, turned out to be a danger to Plymouth, as Morton not only taught the Indians the use of firearms but also supplied them with muskets and rum. The Pilgrims spoke of him as a thorn in the sides of the godly. Miles Standish, the military commander of Plymouth, dispersed the settlers of Merrymount, while their leader was sent back to England.

Under the leadership of the Rev. John White the first Dorchester Company had been formed for trading and fishing: a station had been established at Cape Ann in 1623, but the enterprise did not prosper. It was however the forerunner of the second Dorchester Company, 1628, "an affair backed up by

men of wealth and influence," as Henry Cabot Lodge tells us, who secured a large grant of land for Sir Henry Roswell and five others. One of the six patentees, John Endicott, went out in 1629 with a small company and assumed the government at Naumkeag, which is now called Salem.

This second Dorchester Company was enlarged, and a royal charter was obtained in March, 1629, incorporating the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay." It gave power to the freemen of the company "to elect annually from their own number, a governor, a deputy governor and eighteen assistants, and to make laws and ordinances not repugnant to the laws of England for their own benefit and the government of persons inhabiting their territory."

In anticipation of future want the grantees resisted the insertion of any condition which should fix the government of the company in England, and in August of the same year it was decreed that the government and patent of the plantation should be transferred from London to Massachusetts Bay. "An order was drawn up for that purpose, in pursuance of which a court was holden on Oct. 20, 1629, for a new election of officers, who would be willing to remove with their families; and the court having received extraordinary great commendation of Mr. John Winthrop, both for his integrity and sufficiency, as being one very well fitted for the place, with a full consent chose him governor for the year ensuing."

While, as we have seen, the primary reason of Governor Winthrop and his Puritan friends in coming to Massachusetts was of a decidedly mercenary nature, the secondary aim was the construction of a theocratic state. "which should be to Christians under the New Testament dispensation all that the theocracy of Moses, Joshua and Samuel had been to the Jews in the Old Testament days."

This projected religious Commonwealth was to be founded and administered by the Bible, which was their book of devotion and their statute book; a single sentence from any part of it was an oracle to them, which led to such disastrous consequences

later on. (Particularly in the case of the unfortunate Anne Hutchinson).

Preparations were now made in earnest for the removal of a large number of colonists, and in early April of 1630 a fleet consisting of fourteen ships with 840 passengers of various occupations,—almost eight times the number of the Pilgrim exodus in 1620—under the leadership of Governor Winthrop, sailed for Massachusetts Bay. They arrived off Cape Ann on the 11th of June, landed in Salem Harbor the following day and settled, after some allotments of land had been made, partly on the Peninsula of Mishawum, which they called Charlestown, partly on the Shawmut Peninsula, which in the course of time became Boston, still others followed the rivers inland and built their houses at Medford, Newtown (Cambridge), Watertown and Roxbury.

They found a solitary white man, named Thomas Walford, quietly and contentedly living among the Indians at Mishawum, William Blackstone was in possession of Shawmut, while a third Englishman, Samuel Maverick, had intrenched himself on Noddle's Island (East Boston). These three men were, therefore, the first settlers of Boston.

They helped the Puritan immigrants to the best of their ability with their superior knowledge of the new country, but, the Commonwealth once established, only requited them by injustice and cruelty, as we shall see later on.

It is not within the scope of this essay to go deeply into the history of the Puritan Commonwealth; the story of the rise and developement of that phenomenon has been copiously narrated by numerous writers. We shall only describe certain phases of it, in as much as they throw side lights on the Puritan character, so highly extolled by most writers, to show how the Puritans differed from the Pilgrims, and to examine their relations to people not believing as they did.

We have already seen that the popular notion about the motive of their coming to Massachusetts, namely, that of founding a State "for civil and religious freedom," is not warranted

by history. Their first and foremost aim, as borne out by the words of their charter, was to establish a trading colony, a purely money-making scheme. Indeed, all transactions of the Puritan fathers, as told in the old records, show them to have been shrewd business men, with the Bible always at their elbow, to be sure, but the ledger within easier reach than that.

As for religious liberty and freedom of conscience, they abhorred the very name of it; to them it was the synonym for the deadliest of heresies, for moral looseness and for social anarchy. The intolerance of the Anglican Church had made life unbearable to them in their old homes, and untaught by experience they pursued the same course towards Anglicans and others in America. In the language of Macaulay: "They should have learned, if from nothing else, from their own discontents, from their own struggles, from their own victory, from the fall of that proud hierarchy by which they had been so heavily oppressed, that it was not in the power of the civil magistrate to drill the minds of men in conformity with his own system of theology."

But the stand of the founders had been taken, and they held to it with pertinacity. There is not one single incident in the old records to show that the Puritans ever advocated or sued for religious freedom, but they abound in examples of bigotry, intolerance and supreme arrogance. Shortly after having come to New England, Governor Dudley, a typical Puritan, received an inquiry from Holland, as to whether "those that differ from you in opinion, yet holding the same foundation in religion, might be permitted to live among you." "God forbid," he characteristically answered, "our love to the truth should be grown so cold, that we should tolerate errors"; and after his death, the following lines, which evidently had been his maxim through life, were found in his pocket :

"Let men of God in Courts and Churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch,
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice
To poison all with heresy and vice."

It was worthy of a man of this stamp to leave a legacy to Har-

vard University for a course of lectures against the Catholic Church.

How much more Christian in tone is Master Robinson's farewell address to the Leyden Pilgrims, in which he exhorts them to brotherly love towards those who are "not of our communion." Governor Winslow tells us that Robinson was "more rigid in his course and way at first than towards his latter end." The life in Holland, the contact with men of all creeds and broader views at the University of Leyden had broadened him and his flock, so that they admitted members of the Dutch church, Wallons, French, Anglicans, Scotch Presbyterians into communion with them without recantation.

Instead of rejecting the petition of those "that differed from them in opinion," they received them kindly, as was the case with one Philip De La Noye (afterwards corrupted to Delano) "who came to us to New Plymouth from Leyden, where his parents were in full communion with the French Church." There are other instances in the Plymouth records of aliens enjoying all the privileges of the Pilgrims in civil and religious life. Let the words of the records speak for themselves:

"Godbert Godbertson (afterwards corrupted to Cuthbert Cuthbertson), who went with us to New England"; "Yea, at this instant, (1646) another, called Moses Symonson, a child of one that was in communion with the Dutch church at Leyden, is admitted into Church fellowship at Plymouth; also Hester Cooke, the wife of Francis Cooke, being a Wallon, holds communion with the Church at Plymouth as she came from the French, to this day"; and Governor Bradford relates that "in Plymouth are many not of the separation, and we are glad of their company."

A little later Dr. Francis Le Baron, a surgeon on a French privateer, was shipwrecked in Buzzard's Bay and taken prisoner to Boston. "The Selectmen" (of Plymouth), the records tell us, "petitioned Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton for his liberation, that he might settle in this town." This was granted and he married and practised here until his death in 1704. "Dr.

Le Baron did not relinquish the Roman Catholic religion, but was so strongly attached to the cross, that he never retired to rest without placing it on his breast."

As a last example let us mention Miles Standish, who was at least suspected, if not positively known to be a Catholic; nevertheless they made him a freeman without obliging him to church membership.

In this case as well as in that of Dr. Le Baron, the important and indispensable services he rendered to the colony were probably the main factor of this hospitality.

The very origin of Plymouth, as we have seen, is based on nobler motives than that of the Commonwealth.

Let us sum up the reasons in Winslow's words:

"How hard the country was, where he lived.

"How many spent their estate and were forced to return to England.

"How grievous it was to live from under the protection of the State of England.

"How likely we were to lose our language and our name, of English.

"How little good we did or were likely to do to the Dutch in reforming the Sabbath.

"How unable there, to give such education to our children, as we ourselves had received"—

and Bradford's manuscript reads as follows in regard to the last point:

"But that which was most lamentable, and of all sorrows most heavy to be borne, was that many of their children by these occasions and the great licentiousness of youth in that country and the manifold temptations of that place were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses; getting the reins off their necks, and departing from their parents. Some became soldiers, others took upon them far voyages by sea, and others, some worse courses, tending to dissoluteness and the danger of their souls, to the great grief of their parents, and dishonor of God. So they saw their posterity would be in danger to degenerate and be corrupted."

An almost utter disregard for worldly advantages is characteristic of the Pilgrim. He was no man of affairs like the Puritan, as the slow developement of Plymouth Colony proves, and prosperity only came to them after the commercial spirit of the Massachusetts Colony began to exert itself. Although by nature less intolerant, the Pilgrim, through close proximity and intercourse with the Puritan, very soon adopted some of the latter's unlovable traits, and when Massachusetts Bay Colony framed such strict laws against the Baptists, the Quakers, and the Catholics, Plymouth was not far behind.

In comparing the statute books of both colonies we find the very wording of these laws identical, the only difference being, that the Puritan laws antedate those of the Pilgrims by a few years, and that ultimately Plymouth showed greater mildness.

As early as 1644 the General Court of Massachusetts "Ordered and agreed, that if any person or persons within the jurisdiction shall either openly condemne or oppose the baptizing of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the administration of the ordinance . . . and shall appear to the Court willfully and obstinately to continue therein after due time and means of conviction, every such person or persons shall be sentenced to banishment."

In 1646 we read as follows in the "Liberties of Massachusetts Colonie in New England:

"Whereas there is a pernicious sect, commonly called Quakers lately arisen, who by word and writing have published and maintained many dangerous and horrid tenets etc. . . for prevention thereof this Court doth Order and Enact, that every person or persons of the cursed sect of Quakers, who is not an inhabitant of, but found within this jurisdiction, shall be apprehended (without warrant, where no magistrate is at hand) by any constable, commissioner or selectman, and conveyed from Constable to Constable, until they come before the next Magistrate who shall commit the said person or persons to close Prison, there to remain without Baile, untill the next Court of

Assistants, where they shall have a legall tryall by a special jury, and being convicted of being of the sect of the Quakers, shall be sentenced to Banishment upon Paine of Death etc."

In 1647 the same "Liberties" say:

"It is ordered and enacted by authority of this Court, that no Jesuit or Spiritual or Ecclesiastical person (as they are termed) ordained by the authority of the Pope, shall henceforth at any time repaire to or come within this jurisdiction. And if any person shall give just cause of suspicion, that he is one of such society or order, he shall be brought before the magistrates, and if he cannot free himself of such suspition, he shall be committed to prison or bound over to the next Court of Assistants, to be tryed and proceeded with by Banishment or otherwise, as the Court shall see cause, and if any person so banished, be taken a second time within the jurisdiction, upon lawful tryall and conviction, he shall be put to death."

"Provided this Law shall not extend to any such Jesuit, Spiritual or Ecclesiastical person, as shall be cast upon our shores by shipwreck or other accident, so as he continue no longer than till he may have opportunity of passage for his departure."

The first, to whom the Puritans showed themselves in their true light, were the three original settlers mentioned before. William Blackstone, who, according to Mather, "was of a particular humor, and would never join himself to any of our churches, giving as his reason for it: I came from England, because I did not like the Lord Bishops; but I cannot join with you, because I would not be under the Lord-Brethren," was little by little driven by these Lord-Brethren, to sell his land and to face the wilderness once more. He settled in Narraganset Bay, where he died in 1675.

Thomas Walford, who lived quietly with his family at Mishawum, was an Episcopalian, and incurred the odium of the fathers, because he would not conform to their way of thinking. He was fined forty shillings and "enjoynd he and his wife, to depart out of the limits of this patent, before the 20th day of October nexte (1632) under paine of confiscation of his goods."

He went North, found a refuge and a welcome at Portsmouth, where grants of land were made to him, and where in due time he was chosen one of the selectmen of the town.

The proceedings against Samuel Maverick could not be carried with such a high hand. He was a man of gentle birth, of good education and noted for his hospitality. In his mansion on Noddle's Island he had entertained Governor Winthrop when first landing in Boston Bay, in 1630, Sir Henry Vane, Lord Ley and other gentlemen of standing at home, who visited the Colony. He could therefore not be treated so summarily as Thomas Walford, who was only a blacksmith or one of the "common people" as Winthrop says. However as he was "strong for the Lordly Prelatical power," he was soon given to feel that he was not *persona grata*, and after several political complications thinking it best to escape the persecution of the "Lord-Brethren," he returned to Old England. All the facts and documents in relation to Maverick have been faithfully collected by W. H. Sumner in his History of East Boston.

The next trouble for the Colony arose through the advent of Roger Williams, the apostle of "soul liberty, young, godly and zealous, having precious gifts." His great and unchanged tenet was the freedom of conscience, a doctrine especially abhorrent to the Puritan fathers. He denied in toto the notion of the Church's concern in civil affairs, which was the foundation of New England's polity, but his crowning and unpardonable heresy was when he attacked the right of the Colonists to their land. They resolved to bear with him no longer. At the session of the General Court held in Boston in September, 1635, it was ordered "that the said Mr. Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction within six weeks now next ensuing." He set out for the territory of Narragansett, and there "founded the village of Providence." The sentence of banishment was not passed without reluctance, however, and Governor Winthrop remained his friend to the day of his death, while Governor Winslow, of Plymouth, "who had no hand in his expulsion, put a piece of gold in the hands of his wife, to relieve their necessities."

Hardly were they well rid of Roger Williams, When Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and with her the Antinomian controversy appeared upon the scene. The name Antinomian was coined by Luther and applied to John Agricola and his adherents. As the derivation of the word implies, it means, against or above the law—the law of Moses in this case—but was nothing else than the revival of the old gnostic doctrine of salvation through grace or faith alone. Hence the endless discussions about “Covenant of Grace” and Covenant of Works.” Mrs. Hutchinson was a woman of high and subtle intellect, deeply imbued with the controversial spirit of the age. She stood at the head of a constantly growing party, largely composed of individuals who had arrived after the civil government of the Colony had been established, and who, following out the doctrines of strict Calvinism with logical precision, maintained that salvation was the fruit of grace and not of works. The conservative party, which consisted of the original settlers, who were content with the established order of things, readily conceived how such a doctrine might be perverted by logical interpretation and religious standing made independent of moral character.

Mrs. Hutchinson was supported in her rebellion against spiritual authority by Governor Vane, Rev. John Wheelwright and a majority of the people of Boston, but Winthrop, Dudley and nearly all the ministers were arrayed against her. The subject became one of supreme political importance. At the ensuing choice of the magistrates, the theological divisions played a principal part in the elections, and the triumph of the clergy was complete. Mrs. Hutchinson was summoned before the General Court (1638), denounced as “weakening the hands and the hearts of the people against the ministers,” as being “like Roger Williams and worse,” and Massachusetts, true to her theocratic system, banished the unfortunate Mrs. Hutchinson under the most revolting circumstances, which it is difficult, if not impossible, to extenuate. After her expulsion the liberal minority was completely vanquished, and a system of terrorism with the clergy as leaders, was established. They preached

not the fatherhood but the wrath of God, and they were fit and docile instruments to illustrate God's wrath upon earth.

The assumed right of private interpretation of the Bible naturally led to innumerable differences of opinion, and as each reader of the "Word" claimed to be specially illuminated and divinely directed, sects and heresies grew up like mushrooms. No sooner had the Antinomian movement been crushed and stamped out, than the fertile soil of New England brought forth another sect; the Baptists or Anabaptists, who opposed infant baptism. Prompt action was taken by the watchful fathers, who at once passed the law of 1644 mentioned above. Among the victims of this enactment were Clark and Crandall, who were fined, Obadiah Holmes, "who was whipt for heresy," and Henry Dunster, president of Harvard College, who was banished in the midst of winter with his sick wife and children.

"Henry Dunster," Brooks Adams says, "was an uncommon man. Famed for piety in an age of fanaticism, learned, modest and brave, by the unremitting toil of thirteen years he raised Harvard from a school to the position which it has since held; though very poor and starving on a wretched and ill-paid pittance, he gave his beloved college one hundred acres of land at the moment of its sorest need." Still all this could not save him from the fanaticism of the lord-brethren, and exiled and broken-hearted he went to end his days in Plymouth Colony.

Although at the outset public sentiment towards Baptists and Quakers was much the same in both Colonies, Plymouth adopted milder measures in the course of time, and, be it said, not to her detriment, for the Quakers were the most law abiding citizens in her jurisdiction. It is refreshing to find in the midst of all this bigotry, oppression and intolerance, one dissenting voice, bold enough to make itself heard, that of the noble Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the original founders of the Colony who, in 1652 writes from England as follows to Wilson and Cotton, ministers in Boston: "It doth not a little grieve my spirit to hear, what sad things are reported daily of your tyranny and persecution in New England, as that you fine, whip and

imprison men for their conscience. First, you compel such to come into your assemblies as you know will not join you in your worship, and, when they show their dislike thereof, or witness against it, then you stir up your magistrates to punish them for such as you conceive, their public affronts. I hope you do not assume to yourselves infallibility in judgment when the most learned of the Apostles confesseth he knew but in part, and saw but darkly as through a glass."

But now the attention and energies of the lord-brethren were absorbed by a new influx of heretics, before whom Ritualists, Antinomians and Baptists faded into insignificance. The rise of the sect of Friends, derisively called Quakers, was one of the results of that fermentation of public opinion in England which Cromwell, for some unknown reason, allowed to go unchecked. It was a consequence of the moral war against the corruption and bigotry of the Puritans at home. The Quakers were irreproachable in their lives, meek and patient in suffering, never returned evil for evil, advocated the utmost simplicity, and were outspoken against war, intemperance, slavery and all immorality. They were men of whom Cromwell said: "I cannot win them by gifts, honors, offices or places." Considering the "Inner Light" their oracle of duty, as the only and all-sufficient authority for proclaiming the truth, they rejected all forms, all rituals, and opposed all ordained ministry. They denounced religious persecution, and advocated perfect freedom of opinion and expression for all mankind, recognizing in all creeds some mixture of truth.

This was rank heresy from the Puritan point of view, and when the Quakers appeared in New England for the avowed purpose of breaking down this stronghold of bigotry, the Fathers were equal to the occasion, and met them with all their wonted fanaticism and cruelty. In fact, the law of 1646 had been passed before a single Quaker had set foot upon these shores! When they finally did arrive, they were to "be forthwith committed to the house of correction, and at their entrance to be severely whipt, and by the master thereof to be kept con-

stantly at work, and none suffered to converse or speak with them during their imprisonment." Masters of vessels were subject to a fine of £100 for bringing a Quaker into any part of the jurisdiction, and required to give security to take him away again. A fine of 40 shillings for every hour was imposed for harboring Quakers, and in 1656 it was ordered that every Quaker coming into the jurisdiction after having once been banished should "for the first offence suffer the loss of one ear, for the second offence the loss of the other, and for the third offence should have his tongue bored through with a hot iron."

The Massachusetts commissioners soon wrote to the General Court of Rhode Island, remonstrating against the leniency of its policy towards these "cursed heretics." Here they were enjoying such a refuge as the early Puritans themselves had found in Holland. The reply of Governor Arnold contained a significant and valuable suggestion, which the magistrates of Massachusetts Bay would have done well to accept. It had been his experience, that where the Quakers are "suffered to declare themselves freely, there they least desire to come, and that they are likely to gain more followers by the conceit of their patient sufferings, than by consent to their pernicious sayings."

However brandings, whippings and cropping of ears had but little effect in keeping the Quakers out. Especially did they swarm to Massachusetts, as the hot-bed of bigotry and therefore in the greatest need of their preachings and remonstrances. The cruelties inflicted upon them would seem incredible if not too well authenticated. Nicholas Upsall, a venerable and highly respected citizen, for showing some compassion for Quakers in prison, was himself thrown into the same prison, fined and banished, suffering the greatest hardships for his humanity. Sarah Gibbons, and Dorothy Waugh were imprisoned three days without food, then "whipped with a threefold knotted whip, tearing the flesh," and afterward banished. In September, 1658, Holden, Copeland, and Rouse, who had twice

come back after banishment, each had the right ear cut off by the constable. The law compelling all persons to attend meeting under a penalty of five shillings, was rigidly enforced, and caused great distress among the Quakers. If they stayed away from the Puritan "Steeple-house" they would be fined, if they went there and the spirit moved them to utter a protest, they would again be fined; if they chose to attend their own meeting, they would inevitably be fined. If driven to a perfect frenzy of fanaticism by his sufferings, he would revile his persecutors, fine and imprisonment were his certain fate, supplemented by the branding iron and the whipping post.

The persecution reached its climax by the judicial murder of four persons; but let us be just, it was done among much murmuring and public protest. In the summer of 1659 Mary Dyer, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, three exiled Quakers, returned to Boston. They were tried, condemned, and in October the two men were hanged on Boston Common; but Mary Dyer's sentence, at the intercession of her son, was commuted to banishment. She soon came back, however, and on the first of the following June was led to the gallows. Being offered her life on condition that she would go away and stay away, she replied: "Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and in His will I will abide faithful to the death." The brand of that day's infamy will never disappear from the annals of the Puritan Commonwealth.

In pronouncing sentence of death upon the Quakers in defiance of the law of England, and the patent from which all his authority was derived, Governor Endicott exceeded his authority and was guilty of the double crime of treason and murder. But reigning supreme and being himself clothed with the highest power in the Colony, he escaped punishment, as he did for another offence in 1634, when, in a fit of fanaticism, he mutilated the royal banner, by cutting out the Cross of St. George, because the Cross was an emblem of "popery."

Endicott's next victim was William Leddra, who had been banished in 1657. He was offered his life on condition of

going to England and not returning, to which he replied : " I have no business there ; I stand not in my own will, but in the will of the Lord ; to make you the promise I cannot," whereupon he was hanged.

While Leddra's trial was still in progress, Wenlock Christison appeared before the court. At his trial he demanded to know if the court was bound by the law of England, and on receiving an affirmative reply, declared that there was no English law for hanging Quakers, and appealed to England for protection. Governor Endicott treated his demand with derision. He found it difficult, however, to get a court to agree to sentence Christison to death, and in spite of it pronounced the sentence. But it was destined never to be executed. A few days afterward the jailer opened the prison doors, and Wenlock Christison, with twenty-seven others, was set at liberty. The friends of the Quaker in England had prevailed upon Charles II. to order the prosecutions to cease in New England (1661). Samuel Shattock, a banished Quaker, was sent over by Charles with a letter to Governor Endicott, commanding that no more Quakers should be hanged and imprisoned in New England, but should be sent to England for trial. This ended the persecution, for on December 9, 1661, the court ordered all Quakers to be set at liberty.

Among the reasons often urged by those who worshipped at the shrine of Puritanism, in defence of the pursuance of such cruel and inhuman tactics, are the incivility and the abusive language of the Quakers.

Believing that they were doing God's work and fulfilling a mission, the Quakers naturally denounced their persecutors in language not exactly noted for its charity and delicacy. Ministers were stigmatized as " Baal's priests," " the seed of the serpent," " painted sepulchres," etc. But in extravagance of language the Puritans were a close match to the victims. The learned Cotton Mather, for instance, writes : " In Quakerism, the sink of all heresies, we see the vomit cast out in the by-past ages by whole kennels of seducers, licked up again for a new digestion."

Massachusetts had to go through one more phase of fanaticism, namely, that of witchcraft. This delusion, however, is too well known to make it necessary for us to enter into the details of it. The arbitrary act of Governor Phips, in creating a court for the trial of witches, the tortures and cruelties perpetrated upon the unfortunate victims, have been condemned by all fair-minded people, and have left a stain upon Massachusetts which cannot be effaced.

We have now seen that neither the Pilgrims nor the Puritans are the saints that some historians, orators and poets would have us believe. They were human, and very human, to quote the words of Terence : "*Homo sum et nil humani alienum a me puto.*" The future scholars, who will rewrite history, will strip them of their halo of sanctity, which they have so long undeservedly worn, and will present them to the world in all their narrowness, intolerance, hypocrisy and want of morality. Only careful reading of the early volumes of the original records of the Colony can give us a correct idea of what they were and what they did.

Such was the Massachusetts of the Pilgrims and the Puritans. What has caused the tolerant spirit so prevalent in the educated Massachusetts men of the last half century compared with their ancestors for 200 years ?

That they believed in God and had some fixed religious principles which they preserved from the saving remnants of Catholicity remaining with them cannot be denied. The great influx of emigration to Massachusetts during the last seventy years has largely changed the character of the New Englander, and has produced a different type of man. Under the Pilgrim and Puritan dispensation they had a criminal code, which made the attempt of any Catholic to live in Massachusetts and adhere to his faith a crime punishable by death, therefore it was not to be expected that many Catholics found their way thither, yet we find many names of unmistakable Catholic origin.

We do know that Father Druillettes came here in 1650 on a mission partly on business and partly political, and he was

lodged in the house of Major-General Gibbons, probably situated on Washington Street, near Adams Square, and that he said mass secretly; we know also that many of the Acadians were scattered throughout Massachusetts; that Cromwell and Charles sent many of the children of Catholics from Ireland, but these nearly all lost their faith and were swallowed up by the Puritans. Though they have left some traces of their influences in Massachusetts, it was not until the closing years of the Eighteenth Century, when the French Revolution sent those learned and saintly men, Matignon and Cheverus, that any attempt was made to organize the Catholic Church and found a parish, which was the nucleus of the Diocese and Archdiocese of Boston.

The way had been prepared for them by the Rev. John Thayer, a convert, formerly a Congregational minister in Boston, who had been ordained in Paris and was assigned by Dr. Carroll, of Baltimore, to the Boston mission in 1790. His flock numbered but a few hundred and services were held in a small chapel on School Street, previously occupied by a Huguenot congregation.

But from now on a more rapid growth of Catholicity may be noticed, and a wave of tolerance spreading over the land. During the struggle for independence against England, the Catholics of the Colonies stood shoulder to shoulder with the Puritan: the only ally the Colonies had was France, a Catholic nation, and the names of such men as Charles Carroll, Dr. John Carroll, Lafayette, Rochambeau, Kosciusko, etc., all of whom distinguished themselves in military or civil life, went far towards abolishing many of the inborn prejudices against the "Papist."

Washington was not slow in recognizing the merits of the Catholics, for while in the throes of the Revolutionary War he abolished the celebration of "Pope Day," of which we read in the "Boston Town Records," under date of November 5, 1772, as follows:

"As the Commander-in-Chief has been apprised of a design formed for the observance of that ridiculous and childish custom

of burning the effigy of the Pope, he cannot help expressing his surprise that there should be officers and soldiers in this army so void of common sense as not to see the impropriety of such a step at this juncture; at a time when we are soliciting, and have really obtained, the friendship and alliance of the people of Canada, whom we ought to consider as brethren embarked in the same cause—the defence of the liberty of America—at this juncture and under such circumstances, to be insulting their religion is so monstrous as not to be suffered or excused: indeed, instead of offering the most remote insult, it is our duty to address public thanks to these our brethren, as to them we are indebted for every late happy success over the common enemy in Canada,” etc.

And after the struggle was over, he furthermore showed his appreciation of what the Catholics had done towards making the United States of America, when he replied to their address in such terms as these: “I hope ever to see America the foremost nation in examples of justice and liberality, and I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution, and the establishment of their Government, or the important assistance they received from the countries in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed. May the members of your society in America, animated alone by the pure spirit of Christianity, and still conducting themselves as the faithful subjects of our free Government, enjoy every temporal and spiritual felicity.”

Catholicity increased steadily in New England, not alone through immigration, but through conversions in the ranks of the Puritans themselves, who were deeply impressed with the learning, piety, virtue and refinement of these two ideal apostles Matignon and Cheverus. Very soon a larger church was needed and built on Franklin Street to which a number of Protestants contributed most generously, the list of subscribers being headed by John Adams, President of the United States. The new Church of the Holy Cross was dedicated by Bishop Carroll, of Baltimore, in 1803, and was for many years the only Catholic Church in Boston.

In 1808 Pope Pius VII. made Boston an Episcopal See, embracing all the New England States, with Dr. Cheverus as the first Bishop. But even in this exalted position Bishop Cheverus continued his personal active interest in the Abnaki Indians and the humblest of his parishioners. It is told, that once after a visit to a sick work woman, to whom he had given some firewood, he went to her yard one morning before daylight to prepare it for kindling. When the identity of this early laborer was discovered, remonstrances were naturally made, but he quietly declined aid or relief, and finished what he jokingly called his "job." A Unitarian clergyman writes of him: "Who among our religious teachers would solicit a comparison between himself and the devoted Cheverus? This good man lived in the midst of us, devoting his days and nights and his whole heart to the service of a poor and uneducated congregation. We saw him declining in a great degree the society of the cultured and refined, that he might be the friend of the ignorant and friendless, leaving the circles of polished life, which he would have adorned, for the meanest of hovels," etc.

To the regret of his American friends of all creeds and persuasions, he was recalled to France by the Pope and made Bishop of Montauban in 1823, created Archbishop of Bordeaux in 1826, and proclaimed Cardinal shortly before his death in 1836.

A worthy successor to this truly great man as second Bishop of Boston was found in the person of the Rev. Benedict Fenwick, a member of the Society of Jesus, and belonging to one of the first Catholic families of Maryland, who had come over with Lord Baltimore. Of a resolute and determined character, he was destined to pilot the ever-increasing Church of New England through a period of storm and stress.

When he came to Boston, in 1825, he found only two priests in the city and three in the whole diocese, while nine churches were in existence. He therefore opened a seminary on a small scale in his own residence, and ordained the Rev. James Fitton and the Rev. William Wiley, in 1827.

In the same year he opened the first school for boys in connection with the Cathedral, of which the ecclesiastical students were the teachers. It was in this school that Archbishop Williams was taught the rudiments of Latin. Fully aware of the power of the press, Bishop Fenwick started the first Catholic paper in New England, under the title of *The Jesuit*. As a weekly paper, first issued in 1828, it went through several titles and phases, until it finally merged into *The Pilot*, which today enjoys not only a national, but an international reputation.

Always on the alert and awake to the needs of his flock, the Bishop in 1832 summoned the first Sisters of Charity from Emmitsburg to Boston, for the purpose of founding a home for orphans and teaching Catholic girls in moderate circumstances. He also enlarged the Ursuline Academy, founded by Bishop Cheverus in 1820. It was transferred from its narrow quarters on Franklin Street to Ploughed Hill or Mount Benedict, so named in honor of the Bishop—in Charlestown, now Somerville, where it became famous as an educational institution, the majority of the pupils being daughters of New England Protestants. This quiet and retired place became in 1834 the scene of the most outrageous attack against poor, defenceless women that Massachusetts ever witnessed, and which will forever remain a blot upon her escutcheon.

Bishop England and other writers have so graphically described the burning of the convent and the farce of the trial of the rioters that we can add nothing to what has been written. Bishop Fenwick showed his wisdom by asking for the pardon of the insignificant person who was convicted and upon whom they attempted to shift the responsibility for this outbreak of fanaticism and intolerance.

Bishop Fenwick's career came to a close in 1846, and he was buried at Holy Cross College at Worcester (now in the Springfield Diocese), which he had established during his episcopacy.

Succeeded by the Right Rev. John B. Fitzpatrick in 1846, we now come to events within the memory of those now living. We all know how the famine in Ireland caused the great exodus

to the United States, and Massachusetts received her full share of this emigration. Unlearned though they might be, yet these immigrants were vigorous of soul and sound of body, with a strong and abiding faith, and to them and the few hard-working and zealous priests who shared with them all the vicissitudes of life in a new country, we owe the marvellous growth of the Catholic Church in Massachusetts.

During Bishop Fitzpatrick's episcopacy the so called Know-nothing Party came into power in this State, a series of persecutions following and also the troubles with the School Board. The wisdom and the good judgment of the Bishop were admirably displayed during these troublous times. He was a magnetic man, sociable in his nature, and during his administration many converts, members of old Boston families, came into the Church. In January, 1866, Father Williams was appointed coadjutor, but before the arrangements for his consecration could be completed, Bishop Fitzpatrick died, and Father Williams became Bishop Williams.

We are all familiar with the life and work of our own beloved Archbishop, who lately celebrated his eightieth birthday. We are so near to him, that many fail to appreciate the great work he has accomplished in the Archdiocese. His well-known modesty deters us from expressing ourselves as fully as we might desire. We see all about us the churches, the convents, the schools, the seminary and the charitable institutions, the monuments of his zeal and devotion during his busy life, and we behold the Massachusetts of Puritan and Pilgrim largely Catholic. When Archbishop Williams was elevated to the Archbishopric in 1875, the Catholic population of the Archdiocese numbered about 275,000, today it numbers nearly 700,000. In 1866 there were only 112 churches, there are today 210 churches; and instead of 120 priests for the whole State of Massachusetts, there are now 525.

I think we may be justified in rejoicing, that from the 100 Catholics in Boston in 1780, the little grain of mustard seed has grown into a mighty tree. The face of the grim old Puri-

tan Commonwealth is changed; its habits, its manners, its customs have all undergone a wonderful revolution.

We read in the "Chronicles of Massachusetts," that when Governor Winthrop made his first official call on the Governor of the Plymouth Colony, he passed through a place called Hue's Cross. He was so incensed at the mere mention of the symbol of man's redemption, that he ordered the word "Folly" to be substituted for Cross, and the place was called "Hue's Folly."

What a change in our times! We see the cross even on the Puritan Meeting House. The Puritan Fast-Day is no longer observed. On Palm Sunday members of Protestant churches may be seen carrying palms, and the Puritan festival of Thanksgiving holds a secondary place to the joyous Catholic Christmas.

Parkman, philosophizing on what he termed the failure of the French Catholic missions in America, wrote, as though Protestantism in New England had triumphed over what he called hierarchical religion. Were he living and writing today, he would be obliged to revise his opinions, as he would see evidences all around him of the results of private judgment and of the dissidence of dissent prevailing in New England. He would find faith dead or dying among Protestants in Massachusetts; the orthodox Congregational State Church feebly struggling for existence, its parish school no more, and its principal Theological Seminary at Andover about to be abolished; respect for authority lessening, and all men who think seriously, believing the only hope for the preservation of society and the maintenance of our Government to be in the authority, doctrines and teachings of the Holy Roman Catholic Church.

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Reverend Sebastian Rasle.

The Martyr Missionary of the Abenakis Indians.

The history of the discovery and the colonization of the American Continent offers to the reader no page more touching and romantic than that which records the labors and the sufferings of the Jesuit missionaries.

We can trace their footsteps along the rivers and through the forests of Canada, up through the great chain of lakes, down the Mississippi River, through the wilds of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, and the entire northwest. We discover them again in Louisiana and Missouri, and can follow them through Colorado, New Mexico, Oregon, and California. Every state in the Union must give testimony to the fact that they have been the vanguard of exploration and the apostles of peace and goodwill.

Their heroic labors in evangelizing the Indians, and their increasing efforts in conciliating them in their anger at the outrages of their white brothers, must always merit the grateful praises and sincere gratitude of unbiased posterity. With the spirit of crusaders they ventured alone among the savages and labored with single-hearted zeal for their conversion. The labor and constancy with which they pursued their projects have never been surpassed.

Generally beloved, they yet carried their lives in their hands, for wherever a quarrel arose between Christian settlers and the missionary's fierce Catechumens, whenever a tribe at war with another fell in with a tribe in alliance with the enemy, the life of the missionary was always the first to be sacrificed, and his martyrdom, according to the savage customs of the Indians, was generally accompanied by the utmost refinement of torture.

In less than a century after Ignatius of Loyola, the great founder of the Company of Jesus, had sent his loyal and carefully selected followers to battle not with the

sword but with the word, to preach to men and instruct children, to make Christians by preaching and teaching, the new as well as the old world was filled with monuments of Jesuit martyrs and their great struggles for the faith. This was the case not only in those portions discovered and settled by the Spaniards, but also in the more northern regions along the Atlantic coast, claimed to have been discovered by Cabot under the auspices of England, and after England had become Protestant. No page of history gives a grander picture of self-sacrificing devotion and zeal for the conversion of the heathen than that which portrays the life and tragic death of the Reverend Sebastian Rasle, the Jesuit missionary to the Indian tribes at Norridgewock in the district of Maine.

While the title of martyr missionary must forever remain his, still he cannot be called the Apostle of the Norridgewocks. Another Jesuit missionary, Father Gabriel Druettes, had already won this title as far back as the year 1646. In the year 1652, when he left the Norridgewocks to pass the remaining years of his life among the savages of the farther north, all or nearly all were Christians.

Father Rasle was born in Franche-Comté, on the 4th of January in the year 1657, of devout and respectable parents. He evinced from his earliest boyhood a love for the ecclesiastical state and received the best education that experience and competent teachers could impart. When about eighteen years of age the heroic achievements in the interests of humanity and religion already achieved by the disciples of St. Ignatius attracted his attention.

Impelled by the laudable ambition of emulating in his life the deeds of these champions of the faith, he applied for admission to the Society of Jesus. On the 25th of September in the year 1674 he entered upon his novitiate. During the next fifteen years the world knew little about him, for his time was spent in prayer and in study, and in teaching in the Jesuit college at Nîmes. While the outer world knew little, his superiors had learned much. They saw that he already gave evidence of the possession of those special qualities which would fit him for the toil and perils of a missionary.

In the year 1689 he was sent to Canada to devote his life to the work of evangelizing the Indians. Embarking at La Rochelle on the 23d of July in the year 1689, he arrived at Quebec on the 3d of October after a voyage of nearly three months. His first duty on his arrival was to learn the Indian language. The better to succeed in this anything but easy task, he went to live in a village of the Abenakis nation about three miles from Quebec. By intercourse and frequent association with the savages he soon acquired not only a knowledge of Indian words and their signification, but, what was still more necessary, the idiomatic turns and arrangements which the Indians gave them. After five months of constant application he had composed a dictionary and a catechism which contained the principles and mysteries of the Catholic faith. In order that he might gain the confidence of the savages and win them to Jesus Christ, he found it necessary to conform to their manners and customs. This was not easy, as Father Rasle himself acknowledges, in a letter which he wrote to his brother many years after his settlement among them: "That which was most revolting to me when I commenced living with the Indians," says he, "was the necessity of taking my meals with them. Nothing could be more disgusting. After having filled their kettle with victuals, they placed it on to boil for about three-quarters of an hour, after which they take it off the fire and serve it upon dishes of bark, dividing it among all those who are in the cabin. Each one then eats his food as he would a piece of bread. This sight," he continues, "did not give me much appetite."

It was among these people, who were esteemed to be less barbarous than all the rest of the Indians, that he passed his novitiate as a missionary. When he had spent about two years in the Abenakis village near Quebec, he was recalled by his superiors and assigned to the mission among the Illinois savages.

As each Indian nation had its own particular language, and as the Illinois tribes among whom he now was assigned spoke a different language from that of the Abenakis, he found it necessary to spend three months in the study of a new Indian dialect before his departure from Quebec. At

length, on the 13th of August in the year 1691, he embarked in a canoe for his journey of eight hundred leagues over lakes of vast extent and through trackless forests that swarmed with the fiercest barbarians. The great risks and sufferings that were inseparable from such a journey can scarcely be appreciated at the present day. On the great lakes storms often arose that surpassed in fury those that were met with on the ocean. Still greater perils were encountered on the rivers, which in places ran with great rapidity. The light and fragile canoe flew at times through the seething waters like an arrow, and if it came in contact with the rocks, which in many places were just beneath the surface, it was instantly dashed into a thousand pieces.

Often the frightful pangs of hunger were added to other sufferings, for the length and difficulty of such a voyage did not permit the carrying of anything but a sack of corn. If game failed, days and often weeks of fasting ensued, and the half-famished voyagers were compelled to fight death from starvation by feeding upon berries and a species of plant called litchens.

When about one-half of the journey to this new field of labor had been made, Father Rasle realized that the season was too far advanced to proceed further. Knowing that the Huron Indians, whose country he had now reached, were ministered to by a brother missionary, he pushed forward to their village and awaited the coming of spring. Resuming his journey as soon as the season permitted, he passed safely through every danger, and after forty days reached the village of the Illinois. He labored among the savages of this nation for six long years and traveled with them in all their wanderings on rivers and through wild forests, from the ocean to the Mississippi River and from the Mississippi back again to the ocean. Hunger and almost insufferable fatigue were his ordinary companions, but his burning zeal for the salvation of his savage children enabled him to sustain all his miseries with patience and even with pleasure. In the year 1696 he returned to Quebec. About this time the Abenakis Indians, who lived in what is now part of the State of Maine, sent messages to the Jesuit Fathers at Quebec asking for a missionary. As Father

Rasle already knew the customs and character of the Abenakis Indians and spoke this language, he was assigned by his superiors to their village at Norridgewock.

The site of his mission was a beautiful spot on the Kennebec River. "Here where nature itself seemed to invite the residence of man and lavish upon him all the goods which spring from fertility, and all the pleasure which conversation with the finest scenes of romantic solitude could afford, Father Rasle built his humble cabin."

Quebec was distant a painful journey of several days and it was a journey of at least two days to the nearest English dwelling. The country around was a wilderness inhabited only by savages. Our missionary soon collected around him about two hundred Indians, all that then remained of the once flourishing mission of Father Druettes. The rest had been killed in the various wars that had almost unceasingly been carried on between them and the English colonists, or had long since emigrated to Canada. Although the Indians had been for many years without the ministration of a permanent missionary, he found that many of them were Christians. Soon after his arrival a neighboring tribe was converted and came to live at Norridgewock, and it was not long before it became a goodly sized Christian settlement.

The following extract from a letter of Father Rasle gives a striking picture of a Jesuit missionary's daily life among the Indians: "None of my neophytes," says he, "fail to repair twice in each day to the church early in the morning to hear Mass and in the evening to assist at prayers, which I offer up at sunset. As it is necessary to fix the imagination of these Indians, which is too easily distracted, I have composed some appropriate prayers for them to enable them to enter into the spirit of the august sacrifice of our altars. They chant them or else recite them in a loud voice during Mass. Besides the sermons which I deliver before them on Sundays and festival days, I scarcely pass a weekday without making a short exaltation to inspire them with a horror of those vices to which they are most addicted, or to strengthen them in the practice of some virtue. After Mass I teach catechism to the children and

young persons, while a large number of aged people who are present assist and answer with perfect docility the questions which I put them. The rest of the morning, even to midday, is set apart for seeing those who wish to speak with me. They come to see me in crowds to make me a participator in their pains and inquietudes, or to communicate to me causes of complaint against their countrymen, or to consult me on their marriages or other affairs of importance. It is therefore necessary for me to instruct some, to console others, to reëstablish peace in families at variance, to calm troubled consciences, to correct others by reprimands mingled with softness and charity; in fine, as far as it is possible, to render them all contented. After midday I visit the sick and go around the cabins of those who require more particular instructions. If they hold a council, which is often the case with these Indians, they depute one of the principal men of the assembly to ask me to assist in their deliberations. I accordingly repair to the place where the council is held. If I think that they are pursuing a wise course, I approve of it; if, on the contrary, I have anything to say in opposition to their decision, I declare my sentiments, supporting them with weighty reasons, to which they conform. My advice always fixes their resolution. When the Indians repair to the seashore, where they pass some months in hunting the ducks, bustards, and other birds which are found there in large numbers, they build on an island a church which they cover with bark, and near it they erect a little cabin for my residence. I take care to transport thither a part of our ornaments, and the Service is performed with the same decency and the same crowds of people as at the village."

Well could Fathér Rasle say that in the midst of such continued occupations one could scarcely realize the rapidity with which day passed day. As we see from his own words, his labors were not wholly confined to the spiritual works of his ministry. Besides acting as an umpire in settling their little difficulties, as a doctor when ministering to their wants when sick, he was, by his very position, called upon to be their councilor in nearly every matter of a temporal nature.

Almost from the day of his arrival in their midst his Indian children looked to him for advice at the council-fire in the policy and arrangements for war not less than for edification in the principles of the religion of peace. It was this one circumstance, perhaps, more than all others which finally drew upon him the persecution and bitter hatred that finally culminated in his cruel murder and the slaughter of his devoted Indian flock. The territory of Norridgewock, as well as all that portion included in what was called Acadia, was disputed ground for years between the French and the English. Both countries laid claim to this territory by right of discovery, and each on the strength of such discovery granted charters conveying to those chartered vast tracts of land and exclusive rights. These charters were granted sometimes to companies, sometimes to single persons, and at others to the colonists themselves. Most of them preceded the foundation of the colonies to which they referred. So great was the disregard for the laying down of boundaries that the same district was often covered by two or more grants made by the same proprietors to different individuals. While much was said in such charters about rights, little or no regard was paid to the prior rights of the Indians in the extensive grants made directly or indirectly to the colonists. The colonists were subject to the same blinding influence of selfishness that affects other men, and to this we are to ascribe their determination, either by fair or foul means, to drive the Indians from lands which they had obtained through a royal charter and hence considered and called their own.

No one who reads history attentively can deny that in the early years of the colonization of America mere cupidity tempted many to these shores for the sole object of enriching themselves by all practicable means however unjustifiable, and often by overreaching the poor ignorant Indian. The settlers in many cases defrauded them of their land, circumscribed them in their hunting ground, and by the erection of mills and dams upon their rivers put a stop to the supply of fish, which contributed materially to their sustenance.

Nearly all royal charters granted either by France or

England stipulated that the grantees should be mindful of the spiritual condition of the Aborigines and labor for their conversion to the Christian faith. The charter obtained by the Plymouth Colony of Charles I., in 1629, says expressly that the colonists were clothed with corporate powers, so as to "win and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind and the Christian faith, which in our royal intention and the adventurers' free profession is the principal end of the plantation." England, at the period of which I write, was intensely Protestant, while France held with equal tenacity to the teachings of the Catholic religion. So great was the bitterness and animosity engendered among nations by the so-called Reformation that religious intolerance existed not only throughout Europe, but was borne across the Atlantic with every ship-load of adventurers or would-be colonists.

England hated and persecuted all who professed and abetted the diffusion of the Catholic faith, while France showed the same intolerant spirit toward all who followed the leadership of Martin Luther. At one time it was made a capital offence for Protestants to settle in New France, and in New England they retaliated by enacting a law in Massachusetts that if a Roman Catholic priest found his way into the colony after once having been turned out, he should be hanged. While, as I have stated, the royal charters both of England and France enjoined the spread of the Gospel among the Indians, the data that history furnishes gives unmistakable evidence that such recommendations were in many instances totally ignored. While it must be admitted that the commercial spirit and an insatiable lust for gain was to a greater or lesser extent the impelling motive that governed both English and French in their endeavors to colonize the New World, the French seemed to have kept the spirit, if not the letter, of the recommendations relating to the conversion of the Indians more sacredly than the English.

In every colony that France established we find a missionary assigned to teach the truth of Christianity to the Indians. The French company for trading to Canada

were so impressed with the duty of providing instruction and religion for the Indians among whom they were going to place settlers, that they bound themselves by a solemn contract to maintain missionaries for the conversion of the savages.

"The principal design of French settlements in Canada," says a Protestant writer, "was evidently to propagate the Christian religion. Not only did this company for trading, as well as many others, bind themselves, but they actually lived up to the contract and sent the agents whom the Catholic church always provides for such labors." "The early history of Canada teems with instances of the purest religious fortitude, zeal, and heroism; of young and delicate females relinquishing the comforts of civilization to perform the most menial office towards the sick, to dispense at once the blessings of medical aid to the body and of religious instruction to the soul of the benighted and wandering savage." "Without deviating from the calm, philosophical demeanor of religion of the present day," says another Protestant writer, "it is doubtful whether any pious persons could be found willing to undergo the fatigues, uncertainty, and personal danger experienced by the first missionaries of both sexes in New France." The efforts of the Jesuit missionaries for the conversion and instruction of the savages, their universal kindness and benevolence wherever they succeeded in establishing themselves, captured and won forever the friendship of the Indians for the French.

Let us now see how the English acted towards the Indians. "For men professing to frame their daily life by the maxims of the New Testament, it may be affirmed without exaggeration," says Marshall, "that no race of men since the gospel was first preached on earth have ever violated its Spirit with such remorseless consistency as the English Puritans."

The Massachusetts charter sets forth "to win and incite the natives of that country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith, is the principal end of the plantation." The very seal of the colony had for its device the figure of an Indian, with the words of the Macedonian

entreaty, "Come over and help us." While such was the end for which the charter was granted, what was done for Christianizing the Indian? Absolutely nothing for many years, and only when the Massachusetts legislature, moved by the complaints of the Crown, passed an act in 1646 for the encouragement of Christian missions among the Indians. The charter of Massachusetts was granted in the year 1629, and it was not until the year 1646, seventeen years afterwards, that the colonists of Massachusetts Bay took any action towards the fulfillment of the very end for which the charter was granted them. Their neighbors and fellow countrymen of Plymouth Colony had been already twenty-six years in New England, and, as far as I can discover, had made no attempt at converting the Indians until the same date when John Elliott, favorably known as the "Apostle of the Indians in New England," began his work as a missionary. During these years the colonists of Massachusetts founded Harvard College, 1638. They established an Iron Works Company for the manufacturing, possibly, of swords and guns, as well as pruning-hooks and plowshares. (Felt, Salem, p. 167.) They made voyages to sell captive Indians into slavery, and came back with cargoes of cotton, tobacco, salt and negroes, and this as early as 1637 (Felt, p. 109), (Hutchinson I., 26 note), that is, in eight years after a charter had been granted them.

Polemical theology in the schools, manufactures, trade, and traffic in luxuries as well as necessities, in "cheese, wine, oil, and strong-water" (Felt, p. 62), in "slaves and souls of men" (Felt, Ipswich, pp. 119, 20), all these were attended to before any move was made toward teaching the heathen the gospel of Jesus Christ. The so-called God-fearing Puritan, while filling his pockets with gold from the sale of human flesh, tickling his palate with "cheese, wine, oil, and strong-water, and going to taverns to hear sermons, found no time for winning and inciting the poor red men, that Mather and others denominated as dogs, caitiffs, miscreants, and hell-hounds, to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind. . . . (T. W. Coit, p. 401). While the French settlers in Canada and throughout the district called Acadia in most instances seem

to have treated the Indians kindly, living peaceably with them, and in many cases strengthening their friendship by even intermarrying with them, we find just the opposite to be the case with the English of the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth Colony.

That the Indians were frequently robbed of their lands by the English, I think that few, if any, at the present day can deny. Chalmers in his annals (p. 154), while not absolutely denying that the Indians were compensated for the soil, says plainly that proof of the fact has never been made out.

These are his words: "Yet it does not appear that any compensation was given to the natives when possession was taken of their country by a people who soon overspread the land and unjustly deemed every exertion in its defense an act of rebellion against their laws." Neal seems to hold the same opinion (Neal's New England, p. 155), Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, asserts that the lands were paid for. Neal, commenting on Mather's assertion, says, "If the Doctor's allegations are true." There is nothing to sustain the allegations in Neal's view, and those allegations are so suspicious that they must be alloyed with a base "if." Roger William's opinion about the charter, where he maintained that it was not sufficient to entitle settlers to the soil, brought upon him the enmity and finally the decree of banishment of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. This looks as if a different doctrine was prevalent in his day. Felt, in his annals of Salem (p. 17), states as much when he says Mr. William's doctrine was the occasion of much controversy both at Plymouth and at Salem. Drake, in his old *Indian Chronicles* (p. 155), says: "These Indian places Micham, now Charleston, Matapan, now Dorchester, and Shawmut, now Boston, are intruded into and possessed by Englishmen, whose descendants to this day hold them with as much right as another people would who should come now and crowd them out, and whose manners and occupations might be as different from theirs as those of their ancestors were from those of the Indians."

For fifty years the inhabitants of Salem paid nothing to the Indians on whose land they settled, and it was only

when they heard of Penn's purchase that they purchased their lands of such Indians as they could find. Well does J. W. Coit in his review of the Puritans ask, Could these people, who were seventeen years long unable to recollect the "principal end" of their emigration, the conversion of the natives, twenty-six years long heedless, even in the Indians' eye, of the gospel's value (Hutchinson I, 150), and fifty years long unable to recollect their debt for the soil they trod upon, have cared overmuch for Indian claims or for Indian rights, for Indian bodies or for Indian souls?

Unlike the French, who in most instances acted humanely and kindly towards the Indians, the English treated them with excessive cruelty. No one who reads the history of the Pequod War, where a whole nation was ruthlessly murdered, and the sad fate of the heroic and truly noble King Philip, can absolve Englishmen from the crime of cruelty. Drake, in commenting on an incident of these wars, says their cruelty to the Indian was like to the acts of the most cruel pirate. "Pirates," he says, "never were guilty of a bloodier deed than the taking of thirty Indians out in a boat, murdering them in cold blood, and then throwing their bodies overboard to be eaten by monsters of the deep." Yet such was a Puritan revel and a Puritan historian is merry over it, speaking of the boat that took them as Charon's ferryboat (B. of Indians, Drake B. II, p. 106).

Puritanism in moments of candor is shocked by the treatment of the aborigines. "Though the first planters of New England," says Dr. Trumbull, "were men of eminent piety and strict morals, yet, like other good men, they were subject to misconception and the influence of passion. Their beheading sachems whom they took in war, killing the male captives and enslaving the women and children of the Pequots after it was finished, was treating them with a severity which on the benevolent principles of Christianity it will be difficult ever to justify. The executing of all those as murderers who were active in killing any of the English people [when, as he admits, they did it in war and under orders from their native princes], and obliging all

the Indian nations to bring in such persons, or their heads, was an act of severity unpractised at this day by civilized and Christian nations. The decapitation of their enemies and the setting of their heads upon poles was a kind of barbarous triumph too nearly symbolizing with the examples of uncivilized and pagan nations." (Trumbull's Conn. I., 15.)

The policy pursued by the French won for them the deepest gratitude and strongest attachment of the Indians, while that pursued by the English only aroused their dislike and distrust. Whenever trouble arose between France and England their respective colonists in the New World espoused the cause of their country, and the Indians out of gratitude for the kindly treatment were always found on the side of the French. This only embittered the more English hatred of the French and Indian alike. One of the strongest ties that bound the Indians to the French was that of religion. The English clearly realized that as long as this bond remained intact, there was little, if any, hope of dissolving the friendship.

The chief factor in keeping the bond intact was the Jesuit missionary. He was then, more than all others, the object of English suspicion and dislike. Frequently the English had sought to induce the Indians, by promises of the most tempting nature, to send their Jesuit missionaries back to Quebec and accept their religious teachers, but they always refused, saying in reply: "You are too late in undertaking to instruct us in the prayer after all the many years we have known you. The Frenchmen were wiser than you. As soon as we knew him he taught us how to pray to God properly, and now we pray better than you." The very position which the Catholic missionary held, the dependence of the savages upon his advice and counsel in all matters, either concerning their relations with their white brothers or in spiritual matters, placed him in a trying position.

From the neighboring English nothing but hatred, suspicion, and acts of hostility could be expected; from the French no assistance except on conditions often repugnant to him as a priest, and only endurable on the ground of national feeling. When Father Rasle was enjoying the

triumph of his zeal at Norridgewock, war broke out anew between the French and the English.

At this time, the year 1703, Governor Dudley was the representative of the English Crown in Massachusetts, and he paid a visit to the Indians of the district of Maine and sought to induce them to remain neutral. At the date of his visit it appears that the Indians were not aware of the fact that war had already been declared. The Governor represented to them that the object of his coming was to visit them as the commissioner of the great and victorious Queen of England. He assured them that he came to visit them as his friends and brethren, and to reconcile whatever differences had happened since the last treaty. Massachusetts claimed all Maine as English territory and the Abenakis as subjects; but in sending her subjects to settle upon the Kennebec and in all other places, she paid no regard to the Indian title and made no attempt to purchase any portion of their lands.

Frequently the Abenakis had resented this intrusion by killing the cattle, and at times burning the houses of the English settlers. Treaties of peace had frequently been made by both English and Indians before, and in nearly every instance it was just as at present, when it was for the interest of the English more than for charity towards the Indians. Rasle had accompanied the Indians on this occasion to the place of the conference, but evidently did not intend to be present at the meeting, as he states that it was only by accident that he found himself in the presence of the Governor. As soon as his presence was noted the Governor led him apart and prayed him not to lead the savages to make war upon the English. Rasle replied that his religion and his character engaged him to give them only counsels of peace. The result of the conference was that the Indians renewed their treaty of peace with the English, but clearly stated that if war broke out between the French and English they would stand by the French and aid them.

On the return of Rasle and his Indians to Norridgewock they learned that war had already been proclaimed by the French and English, and they were urged by the

Governor of Canada to join the Frenchmen in their struggle. Governor Dudley realized that the Indians would join, as they had assured him. The French now carried the war into the enemy's country. In retaliation frequent irruptions were made by the French and Indians into the English settlements. It is on record in Rasle's own words, "that he exhorted his Christian Indians on their departure for war to maintain the same interest in their religion as if they were at home, to observe carefully the laws of war, to practice no cruelty, to kill no one except in the heat of battle, and to treat their prisoners humanely." So difficult, however, was it at that time for the English to believe that he gave any advice other than that of unsparing ferocity, that they resolved to take his life, and, to hasten the accomplishment of this design, set a price on his head and offered a bounty of forty pounds for every Indian scalp. In the winter of 1705, Colonel Hilton was sent with two hundred and seventy men, and provisions for twenty days, to Norridgewock for the sole purpose of surprising the Indians and capturing Father Rasle dead or alive. When he reached Norridgewock he found the village deserted. The object of the expedition was unfulfilled, but before leaving, as if to show the Indians the fate that they would have met had they been present, and their missionary that he was the chief object of their coming, he ruthlessly burned all the Indian wigwams, and after sacrilegiously profaning the church, left it a smoking heap of ruins.

During the next eight years history furnishes nothing in relation to Father Rasle. As we know, however, that the war between France and England continued to be waged with unabated animosity, we can easily picture to ourselves his great trials and sufferings as he was pursued from place to place like a hunted beast. However trying his position, there was one ray of sunshine that ever made the darkest days of these years bearable; it was the consciousness that his poor Indian children loved him and held tenaciously to the faith that he had taught them. At length the strife between France and England was brought to a stop in the year 1713, through the treaty of Utrecht. By this treaty France ceded to England Nova Scotia or

Acadia, with its ancient limits and the town of Port Royal. Governor Dudley, on behalf of the English Queen, met delegates from the various Indian tribes at Portsmouth, on the 11th of July, 1713. After stating that peace had been made between the King of France and the Queen of Great Britain, the Governor told the Indians that the King of France had ceded Acadia and Port Royal to the English Queen. The answer made by the Indian delegates shows conclusively that in any or all treaties made between France and England they, the aborigines, disclaimed any right on the part of either nation to cede that which was theirs by prior and undoubted title. "The King of France," said the Indian delegate, "may give your Queen what he pleases, as for me, I have my land which the Great Spirit has given me to live upon. While there shall be one child of my nation upon it he will fight to keep it."

By this answer the Indians made it clear that, when they signed the treaty of 1713, they did not thereby cede or sign away their rights to the lands that they always maintained were theirs by every right, human and divine. Peace being ratified, the Norridgewocks settled down in their ruined village and made preparations for the reconstruction of their church, destroyed by the incursion of Colonel Hilton in the year 1705. As they now were once again at peace with the English of the Massachusetts Bay, and counting much on the many protestations of friendship that the governor had made them, they sent messengers to Boston asking that workmen might be sent them. They agreed at the same time to pay liberally for such service. The governor received their messengers kindly and offered to build their church at his own expense, provided they would agree to send their French priest, Father Rasle, back to Canada and accept the services of a Protestant minister. The Indians, as on all former occasions when such a proposition was made them, refused to make such an agreement, saying that, although the English had known them for a long time, they had never spoken to them of prayer or the Great Spirit. "They saw," they said, "my furs, my skins of the beaver and the elk, and it was about these only that they thought. These they sought with the greatest

eagerness, so that I was not able to furnish them enough. And when I carried them a large quantity I was their great friend, but no further. On the contrary, one day I missed my route, and in my wanderings reached Quebec, near a village of Algonquins where the 'Black Robes' were teaching. One came to see me. My canoe was loaded with furs, but the French 'Black Robe' scarcely deigned to look at them. He spoke to me at once of the Great Spirit, of paradise, of hell, of prayer, which is the only way to reach heaven. I heard him with pleasure, asked him to instruct me. I demanded baptism and received it. I hold to the prayer of the French; I agree to it, and I shall be faithful to it even till the earth is burnt and destroyed. Keep your workmen, your gold, and your minister; I will not speak to you more of them. I will ask the French Governor, my father, to send them to me." It has been asserted that, chagrined and even displeased as Governor Dudley must have been at this spirited refusal to accept his offer, "workmen were sent from Boston, who rebuilt the church in a manner perfectly satisfactory to the Indians and their priest." This is not true, for Father Rasle himself asserts that, failing to secure assistance in Boston, they applied to the Governor of Canada, and he sent workmen to rebuild it.

Peace reigned once more in the little village of Norridgewock, and our missionary consecrated anew his life to the labor of saving the souls of his savage children, while the Indians, deeply sensible to all the proofs of affection that he had given them, loved him as a tender father and remained docile to his teaching. The treaty of peace which the English made in 1713 was not, however, to be of long standing, for the natives saw with alarm the gradual but marked encroachments of the English settlers on their hunting grounds, and they were often driven to remonstrate and seek revenge by the unscrupulous conduct of adventurers who thought it no sin to cheat an Indian.

George the First succeeded Queen Anne on the English throne in 1714, and in the autumn of 1714 Colonel Samuel Shute came to Boston as governor of Massachusetts. Urged by the increasing disturbances in the district of Maine, he invited the Indians to attend a mutual council,

which was held at Arrowsick Island, at the mouth of the Kennebec River, on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of August, in the year 1717. Father Rasle accompanied his Indians, but was not present at any of the meetings. As at the council held in 1713, the Indians were reminded that they were the subjects of the English nation. The Indians, on their side, renewed their complaints against those who were unjustly appropriating their lands and goading them to desperation by their acts of injustice and cruelty. The same honeyed promises were made to the poor Indians, and after all had drunk the health of the King, a new treaty of peace was drawn up and signed. Hoping to shake the constancy of the Norridgewocks in the faith of the Catholic church, and thereby lessen and destroy the influence of Father Rasle over his Christian Indians, Governor Shute brought with him from Boston the Reverend Mr. Baxter, a Protestant minister. He told the Indians that he would gladly have them of the same religion as he professed, and presented them with the Bible written in both the Indian and English language.

Like all former attempts of the same nature, this new attempt was equally unsuccessful, for the Indians declined the acceptance of either his Bible or his minister. This endeavor on the part of the English to win over to Protestantism the Christian Indians whom he had labored for so many years to evangelize in the faith of the only true church greatly troubled Father Rasle. He justly resented the proselytizing attempts of this minister and wrote him a letter in which he stated, that while his Indian children believed in the truths of the Catholic religion, they were not able to defend it, and that he, himself, was ready to defend their belief for them.

One or more letters were exchanged by the minister and Father Rasle, and after a fruitless attempt had been made by the minister to induce the Indian children by flattery and gifts to attend a school that he opened, he abandoned the contest. In the treaty made at Arrowsick Island, the English Governor had promised the Indians trading-houses and locksmiths, but time passed and these promises were not kept. The English settlers growing

more and more numerous grew at the same time bolder and bolder in their appropriation of the lands of the Indians and in their acts of injustice. It was only the influence of Father Rasle over the Indians that had kept them from more frequent reprisals for such outrages. This is evident from complaining letters addressed by him to the Governor of Massachusetts communicating his views on what he considered the aggressions upon Indian property. He certainly knew that a contest between his poor Indians and the mailed hand of the Massachusetts Bay Colony could only result in their total destruction and ruin. Despite his influence, he could not always control the fiery spirits of the savages when aroused by unjust actions that they judged beyond the limit of enduring. In the year 1721 two acts of this nature roused the Indians to such indignation that they resolved to have recourse to arms and drive the English from their midst. The first of these was the seizure and carrying off to Boston in captivity the younger Castine, the son of Baron Castine by an Indian wife. The other and still more reprehensible act was the attempted seizure of Father Rasle, their much-loved missionary.

The hatred of the English had been so intense against the Jesuit Missionary, and the consciousness that while he lived he would continue to act as a barrier to their unjust designs of extending themselves over the lands of the Abenakis, and thus become masters of the whole country, that they passed a resolve in the general court to accomplish his ruin. Col. Thos. Westbrooke was commissioned to proceed with a party of soldiers to the Indian settlement and seize the person of Rasle. On the 22d of January, according to Rasle's own account, Westbrooke set forth on the expedition. "There were with me at the village," says Father Rasle, "only a small number of old men and infirm persons, while the rest of the Indians were at the hunting-grounds. The opportunity seemed to them a favorable one to surprise me, and with this view they sent out a detachment of two hundred men.

"Two young Abenakis who were hunting along the seashore learned that the English had entered the river, and they immediately hastened in that direction to watch their

course. Having perceived them at ten leagues distance from the village, they outstripped them in traversing the country to give me warning and to cause the old men, the women, and children to retire in haste.

“ I had barely time to consume the consecrated Host, to pack the sacred vessels in a little chest and hide myself in the woods. It was towards evening that the English reached the village. Not finding me, they came again the following morning and searched the woods quite close to where I was concealed. They were scarcely a gunshot distant when we perceived them and all that I could do was to hide myself with precipitation in the depths of the forest. As I had not time to take my snowshoes and was still weak from a fall in which, some years before, my leg and thigh were broken, it was not possible for me to fly very far. The only thing that I could do was to hide myself behind a tree. They went immediately to examine the different paths worn by the Indians when they went to collect wood, and approached to within eight paces of the tree which concealed me. From this spot it would seem as if they must inevitably discover me, for the trees were stripped of their leaves; but, as if they had been restrained by an invisible hand, they immediately retraced their steps and repaired again to the village. They pillaged my church and humble dwelling and thus almost reduced me to death. I nearly died of famine and exhaustion in the midst of the woods before my friends in Quebec heard of my sad plight and sent me some provisions.”

On the occasion of this attempt against the life of Rasle, the soldiers, while pillaging his humble home, discovered and carried away the small box containing his letters from the Governor of Canada and his precious dictionary of the Abenakis language. His Indians, on their return from the hunting grounds, clearly saw that all hope of effecting anything through pacific negotiations was passed, and having planted their fields, resolved to destroy the habitations which the English had built, and remove far from them the unjust and troublesome guests, who were encroaching more and more upon their lands and planning

their total ruin. Summoning to their aid all the tribes of the Abenakis nation, they sang their war song and bade defiance to their enemies. When all was in readiness they proceeded to the mouth of the Kennebec, seized three small vessels belonging to the English and destroyed some small buildings, and then continuing up the river plundered and burnt the new houses which had been built. All accounts agree that in the beginning of the war the Indians abstained from slaughter and violence towards the inhabitants, even permitting them to return to their people, with the exception of five whom they retained as hostages until their countrymen who were in prison at Boston were given up. Penhallow, commenting on the condition of affairs at this particular period, says: "The country at this time was in a surprising ferment and generally disposed to a war, but the governor and council could not readily come into it." "Some," he continues, "were not satisfied on the lawfulness of it at the time, for although they believed the Indians to be very criminal in many respects, yet were of the opinion that the English had not so punctually observed the promises made to them of trading houses for the benefit of commerce and traffic, and for the preventing of frauds, too common in the private dealings of the English with them. Another grand abuse," he also states, "was the selling of strong drink to them, which occasioned much quarreling and sin and the loss of many lives, to the great scandal of religion and reproach of the country." (*Indian Wars*, pp. 88, 89.)

Governor Shute undoubtedly felt that the Indians had many and serious grounds for complaint, and in his recommendations to the general assembly he sought to remedy them, but was bitterly opposed. Yielding at last to what appeared to be the popular demand, he issued on the 25th of July, in the year 1722, a formal proclamation of war against the eastern Indians.

Father Rasle was now exposed to greater danger than ever. He had been proclaimed an outlaw, and a price varying from one hundred to a thousand pounds had been put upon his head. His Indian children, realizing to what great dangers he was exposed, proposed that they should conduct him farther into the country, on the side towards

Quebec, where he would be protected from the perils by which his life was menaced. His only answer was that their salvation was dearer to him than life, and since God had committed them to his care he would share their lot, happy if permitted to sacrifice himself for them. This sincere and honest aspiration of his priestly heart he was destined soon to enjoy.

On the 23d of August, 1724, eleven hundred men, partly English and partly pagan Indians, suddenly announced their presence in the little village by riddling the Indian cabins with a volley of musketry. There were only about fifty warriors present at the time, and these hurriedly seized their guns, not to defend the place against the enemy already in it, but to check their advance and thus cover the flight of the women, the aged, and the children. Father Rasle, hearing the clamor and knowing well that he was the chief object of the attack, fearlessly rushed forward, hoping thereby to save the lives of his devoted flock by the sacrifice of his own. His hope was realized, for as soon as he was seen advancing a great shout arose, and a volley of shot riddled his poor body, felling him to the ground at the very foot of the cross that he had erected in the centre of the village. Seven Indians, who surrounded him and who exposed their lives to preserve that of their Father, were killed at his side.

His inhuman and worse than barbarous murderers then mangled his body, scalped him, broke his skull in several places, and filled his mouth and eyes with dirt. In less than it takes to tell it, over thirty persons, including women and children, were killed and fourteen wounded. The rest escaped, while the English pillaged the cabins, and, heedless of sacrilege, horribly profaned the church, the sacred vessels, and even the adorable Body of Jesus Christ. When the cabins and church were one mass of devouring flames they fled as if in panic from the scene of their more than demoniacal vengeance.

"Thus," says Bancroft, "thus died Sebastian Rasle, the last of the Catholic missionaries in New England, thus perished the Jesuit missions and their priest, the village of the semi-civilized Abenakis and their priest." Father

Rasle was sixty-seven years old when he met his tragic death, and he had spent thirty-seven years of preparation, suffering, and unceasing toil for the salvation of the Indian.

One hundred and eight years after his martyrdom our own lovingly remembered and esteemed prelate, Right Reverend Benedict Fenwick, purchased the land which had been dyed with his blood and consecrated by his death. On the 23d of August, 1833, he erected a monument in his memory on the very spot where he gave his life for his Indian flock. Among those who were interested spectators on the occasion was the grandson of one of the English who had taken part in the murder of Rasle. He informed the Bishop that, to the hour of his death, his grandfather ceased not to shed tears at the thought of that sorrowful day; and often called to mind that, having been wounded, he had been charitably nursed by one of Father Rasle's disciples, though her own husband had been killed by his English companions.

No page of history, as I stated in the beginning of this memoir, furnishes a grander picture of self-sacrificing devotion and zeal for the conversion of the heathen Indian than is furnished by the life and heroic death of Father Rasle. His name will ever occupy a prominent place in that mighty band of Catholic heroes imbued with a spirit similar to his, a spirit that with humility, with modesty, with meekness, with patience, with forbearance, with obedience and charity, bore all, suffered all, risked all, even life itself, for the cause of humanity and the spread of the gospel of Jesus Christ. One inspiration filled his whole soul and guided all his actions — the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls. His blood will forever stain the annals of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. His Puritan murderers tried when they shed his blood to cast its guilt from themselves and sprinkle it upon others, but its guilt and its stain still elings and will forever cling to them and to their children as the guilt and the blood of the Saviour elings to a deicide nation.

His death was regarded by the people of Massachusetts as a signal triumph and deliverance. "The sudden

destruction on that memorable day," says Dr. Codman, a Puritan preacher of Boston, "was the work of God; the officers piously put far from themselves the honor of it, and he who was the father of the war, the ghostly father of these perfidious savages, like Balaam, the son of Boer, was slain among the enemy, after his vain attempts to curse us." Had the pious Doctor said on that memorable day he was slain he would have spoken more in accordance with truth, for there were many, even in his time, there have been many since, and there are many who to-day believe that he died at his post as a faithful soldier and in a manner for which he sighed and ardently prayed during the thirty-seven years he devoted himself, in poverty and suffering, to the welfare of the savage heathen.

After reading the English and French-Canadian versions of the life and tragic death of Father Rasle, and considering the racial, political, and religious prejudices of each people, I am convinced that there is but little for either English or French to be proud of in the whole affair. Father Rasle and his poor Indian flock were the victims of a mighty struggle that both English and French were engaged in for the final domination of America, a struggle that never ceased until England was the victor on the Plains of Abraham, at Quebec. No matter what may be said by English historians or others in justification of their cruel and inhuman treatment of him, the following facts, it seems to me, must ever condemn their conduct.

The Norridgewock mission was established by the French long before the treaty of Utrecht was signed. The Indians, as well as Father Rasle, never admitted that Norridgewock was included in the territory ceded by this treaty, and in this belief they were encouraged by the representatives of the French Crown in Canada. It must also be borne in mind that for over a century and a quarter both English and French never ceased their contention on this very point. Nine times at least during this period Acadia passed either by treaty or by conquest from France to England and back again from England to France. It should be no matter of surprise that Father Rasle, being a Frenchman, accepted and stood by the belief of his

countrymen. When he arrived at Norridgewock the French of Canada and the New England colonists were engaged in bitter warfare. No one, I care not how prejudiced he may be, will contend that he either advised or wished for a continuance of this warfare at the time of his advent among the Indians. The Abenakis were the allies of the French, and he naturally sought to strengthen their friendship for his country; but his first and chief thought was to revive and strengthen the red men's faith in the truths of that religion of which he himself was a believer.

He could not have been long among the Indians before he heard and even witnessed the encroachments of the English upon what the Indians rightfully looked upon as their hunting grounds. Seeing these poor children of nature robbed, and this but too often by legal trickery, of the lands made sacred by the graves of their fathers, his great soul must have filled with just indignation, an indignation that was only intensified when he realized what a despairing and pathetic contest it was to be—where an unlettered race, with its simple views of fundamental justice, came against calculating, enlightened, and overwhelming might.

Father Rasle is accused of inciting the Indian braves to retaliate. In view of facts related, was such incitement, I ask, necessary? A thousand times, no; and it is only to be wondered at, in view of the provocation, that savage retaliation was not more frequent and frightful.

If Father Rasle sincerely felt that the Indians had right on their side (and such undoubtedly was his conviction), and he saw the English villages draw nearer and nearer to them, their hunting grounds put under culture, their natural parks turned into pastures, their best fields for corn gradually alienated, their fisheries impaired,—could he, I ask, if he was what he professed to be, their father and guide, refuse to sympathize with them in their sad lot? As a minister of peace he did not wish to advocate cruel warfare, but at the same time it can be readily understood that he could not forbid it when his outraged children were driven to it. It must not be forgotten, when we are shocked in reading of the bloody reprisals made by the

Indians for such acts, that even the dim realization of inferiority on their part must have kindled, without any further incitement, in their benighted minds a desperate ferocity that even the religious influence of their missionary could not at times check. This very ferocity, so shocking to all, especially to those who would too readily condemn the oppressed Indian, is, after all, no matter how much it may be condemned, but something akin to patriotic zeal in more civilized defenders of native land.

When Father Rasle saw that the white man was determined to force a relinquishment of Indian lands either by fair means or foul, and that no effort of negotiation or intrigue was omitted to accomplish this purpose, he would have been false to his own manhood and faithless to the interests of his forest children if he did not cry out in protest with them. The fact that he was a Catholic missionary but made his honest indignation all the more blamable and the more to be resented by the English. No one who lives to-day and calmly and dispassionately judges men and events of the time of Father Rasle will deny that with English and French alike a spirit of religious intolerance existed that was the root of much misunderstanding and ever-to-be-deplored wrongs. That sectarian bitterness was a leading factor in the treatment of Father Rasle by the New Englanders, no one who reads the account of his cruel and inhuman assassination can doubt.

At the tribunal of unbiased history I am convinced that Father Rasle must be held blameless for his intentions and his actions, for the honesty of his purposes, and even for what at most can only be attributed to him as involuntary errors.

The Puritans who slew him persuaded themselves, and have ever since sought through their historians to persuade the world, that he was, as one of them expressed it, a bloody incendiary, and instrumental to most of the mischiefs that were done them, by preaching up the doctrine of meriting salvation by the destruction of heretics. (Penhallow p. 103.)

The verdict of Puritan days, in the case of Father Rasle, as well as in the case of many others, like Puritanism

itself, has long since ceased to bear the stamp of absolute truth, and with many we prefer to believe of Father Rasle, what was believed by his own brethren and his Catholic contemporaries, that he was and in every way merited what they proclaimed him to be :

THE MARTYR MISSIONARY OF THE
ABENAQUIS INDIANS.

